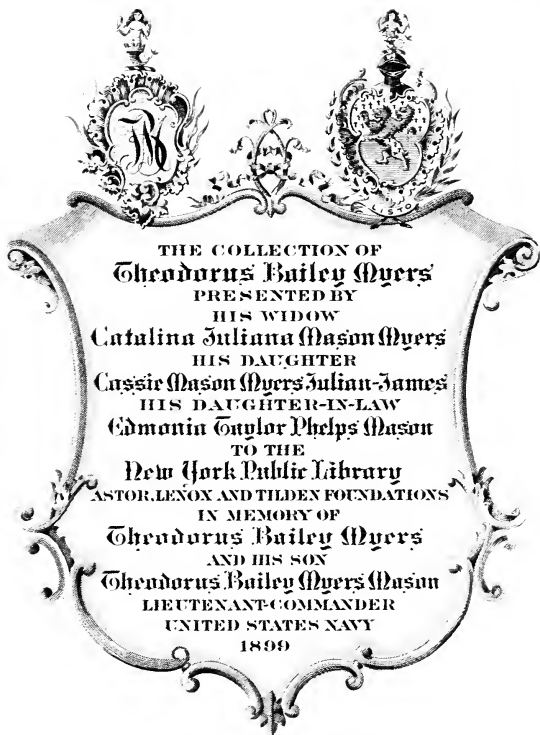



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THE
HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,
FROM
ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO
THE PRESENT DAY.

BY JOHN BURK.

VOLUME I.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY DICKSON & PESCUD.

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DEDICATION.

SIR,

THE History of Virginia, by a sort of national right, claims you as its guardian and patron. Born in this state, and conversant, from your earliest youth, with the records of her laws and government, to whose improvement and preservation, you have devoted considerable time and attention, you know better than any other man, the arduous nature of the present work.

ANIMATED by a laudable zeal for the honor of your country, you early published your observations and reflections on her laws, climate, &c. taking occasion, at the same time, to repel the rash charges of certain philosophers, against her physical and moral productions. Your work is not an history : It may not improperly be considered an interesting epitome of politics, history, and science ; wherein you have contrived to enliven a subject, whose title promised little interesting, with much curious and elegant research, together with a rich variety of new matter, placed in a new and proper light. To this work, sir, I acknowledge myself much indebted ; and I have endeavored to regulate myself by its advice....keeping clear of the tedious, although correct, circumstantiality of Stith ; and, (I hope) the hasty and obscure brevity of Beverley.

To the people of America, who feel and acknowledge the practical blessings of liberty under your administration, little apology is necessary for my choice of a patron : I hate

the word I have been compelled to adopt, owing to the poverty of language ; for although in use, anterior to the existence of the feudal system, it conveys a feudal spirit and signification. You will take it in its manliest and most liberal sense, as a phrase of sentiment, bespeaking merely attachment and respect.

To attempt an apology to you, for the liberty I have taken, would, I hope, be equally impertinent...I inscribe it to you, because I conceive you to be the first and most useful citizen in the republic : And, whatever be the value of my work, I mean you a compliment and a favor.

SHOULD any motives of vanity be ascribed to me, in placing my name with yours ; perhaps, I am not insensible to the pleasure of appearing in company with a man, whose singular good fortune it has been, to govern a great and enlightened people, by the mild agency of laws ; and who has always found more satisfaction in abridging his authority, than other rulers have in aggrandizing themselves, at the expence of the liberty and happiness of their country.

Your fellow Citizen,

THOMAS J. BURK.

ALBANY

1793

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

President of the United States.

PREFACE.

SEVERAL circumstances contribute to render the History of Virginia an object of interest and curiosity. In this part of the American continent, the first permanent establishment was formed by the British; and it is here, we must look for those ancient documents and materials, whose discovery will throw light on the history of the other states.

By her population and geographical position, as well as the public spirit and intelligence of her citizens, she stands conspicuous in the confederacy, which her valor hath erected, in common with that of her sister states; and which her spirit and constancy have since improved and supported.

THESE peculiarities would be sufficient to interest an American: But by how many endearing motives is she connected with the world at large; as the elder branch of a confederacy, which threw down the gauntlet to kings; as the asylum of oppressed humanity; the faithful guardian and depositary of public spirit; as abounding in intelligence and virtue. A correct History of Virginia, would be the history of North America itself, a portion of the globe, which, enjoying the invaluable privilege of self-government, promises to eclipse the glory of Rome and Athens.

THE materials for a correct history are diminishing every day—The war hath already made a melancholy chasm in our public records. History, to which we might look to supply this loss, is often silent.

STITH, as far as he goes, is indeed a faithful guide; but his

history comprises only a space of twenty years, and it is to be found only in the libraries of the curious.

BEVERLEY is a mere annalist of petty incidents, put together without method, and unenlivened by any of the graces of style. He is moreover the apologist of power, in which respect also, he differs essentially from Stith, who on all occasions, displays a manly contempt and defiance of injustice and tyranny.

SIR W. Keith, although more diffuse than Beverley, and more graceful and correct, has little more of detail.

SMITH'S is a sort of epic history or romance, where the author, like Ossian, recounts his achievements in the spirit with which he fought. His narrative, however, occasionally discovers much good sense, and raises no inconsiderable interest. It is moreover the ground work of succeeding histories, and is valuable as a piece of rare and curious antiquity.

THESE books, taken together, contain a mass of valuable matter, which it would be prudent to collect, arrange, and concentrate, before the few copies which remain, disappear from private libraries, as they have already done from the shelf of the book-seller.

IN addition to the assistance, which might be derived from those publications, chance has thrown in my way two large manuscript volumes, containing the minutes of the London Company, together with the proceedings of the Virginia councils and assembly, with little interruption, to the middle of the reign of George II. These volumes are a mine of information, and their value is enhanced by the consideration, that they are, in all probability, the only copies in existence.

THIS collection may be further enriched by such documents as are to be found in the public offices, and in the library of William and Mary College, to the free use of which the Author has been politely invited.

IT would seem almost unnecessary to speak any thing of the use and importance of history itself. It is universally considered as a grand field of experience, where, as in philosophical experiments, principles and systems are tested by their processes and results; and it is in this species of composition, at once the simplest and most diversified, whilst it is obviously the most authentic, that we find so many sublime examples of virtue and intelligence.

IT never can be a matter of indifference to a gallant and intelligent people, that there be a faithful record of their lives and manners. It is a debt which their ancestors have paid to them; it is a duty they owe to posterity: To *themselves*, it is an inexhaustible magazine of precepts and models for all human occasions.

IT were to be wished indeed, that a mind of greater compass and vigour had undertaken the present work. To carry on a regular and lucid series of incident for any length of time, giving a just and lively picture of the manners and customs of each age; to note the slow and gradual transition of the mind from barbarism, to taste, from tyranny to freedom; to enlarge the scope and range of narrative, with reflections which shall appear to be dictated by the precision of science and the foresight of prophecy: And to adorn the whole with the rich treasures of antiquity, requires indeed an union of powers to which the Author is not arrogant enough to lay claim. Yet he conceives that patience and fidelity, a strong relish for what is great and beautiful, and a determination to be strictly impartial, may enable him to produce something not wholly unprofitable; and as the field has long remained unoccupied by an abler advocate, he hopes it will not be thought presumption to attempt, what he is free to admit, requires a mind of greater experience and capacity.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE writing the above, several interesting papers have been added to my collection, by the friendship and public spirit of several citizens, of which all the use possible shall be made in the notes and the general appendix.

IN my introduction, as the subject was not necessarily connected with Virginia, I have principally attended to brevity; having condensed the matter found in M'Laurin's preface, in the history of philosophers, and Dr. Robertson's introduction, in the fifth part of the space taken up by the latter gentleman.

I TAKE leave of my reader, with the following quotation from David Hume:--

“AND though I am sensible (says he) that I must repeat many observations and reflections, which have been communicated by others; yet as every book, agreeably to the observation of a * great historian, should be complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for any thing material to other books,” &c. &c.

Hume's England, Append. 2, p. 423.

* *Padre Paodo. Hist. conc. Tred.*

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Fables concerning the origin of nations—Curiosity of nations respecting their origin—This curiosity, when laudable—The origin of Virginia freed from obscurity—by its recent establishment—by the art of printing—by the concurrent testimony of history. The importance of an history of this state to her own citizens—to those of her sister states—to the world at large—A short history of commerce and navigation, previously necessary, in order to judge correctly of the merit of modern navigators—to connect the series of maritime adventure—Ignorance of the ancients in geography—their notions of the torrid zone—their actual observation, confined to the northern temperate zone. State of navigation in the beginning of the 14th century—attempt to rescue the ancients from the imputation of geographical ignorance—by whom made—parallel between the ancients and moderns—State of ancient navigation—Circumnavigation of Afric. Discovery of Thule—of the Canaries. Commerce of the Egyptians—of the Phenicians—of the Carthaginians—of the Romans—of the Greek empire—of the Italian cities. Invention of the mariner's compass by Flario Gioia—no immediate advantage derived from this discovery. Discovery of Canaries by the Spaniards. Expedition of the Portuguese to the western coasts of Afric—Cape Non doubled—Porto Santo and Madeira dis-

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covered—Cape de Verde. Spirit of discovery suspended, through fear of the heat of the equatorial regions—Party spirit in Portugal—Regains its elasticity by the philosophic ardor of Prince Henry. Azores discovered. Portuguese cross the line. Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomew Diaz. Christopher Columbus—his birth—education—born at Genoa—early discovers a genius and predilection for the sea—at 14 makes his first voyage to Mediterranean—sails to the coast of Iceland—next voyage with a celebrated captain of his own name—his courage and skill in this service—engagement with Venetian Caraval—his ship takes fire—He gains by the help of an oar the Portuguese coast—marries the daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello—he derives assistance from the journals and charts of this navigator—reflections and hopes suggested by their perusal—trades with Madeira and the other discoveries of Portuguese and Spaniards. Prevailing opinion respecting the route to India—opinion of Columbus. Foundation of his theory—resolves to put it in execution—applies to Spain—his plan approved—sets sail from Palos—steers towards the west—Apprehensions of his crews. Westerly variation of needle—address of Columbus in accounting for it—apprehensions of sailors encrease—their hopes revive—are disappointed—their mutiny—compromise of Columbus with his crew—land discovered in the night—Penitence of sailors—he forgives them—goes on shore—takes possession of the Island in the name of the Spanish monarch—discovers several others in that Archipelago—returns to Spain—makes three other voyages—discovers the continent—Ingratitude of the king—persecution and neglect of Columbus—Dies at Valladolid—his character.

HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

THERE has prevailed among mankind in every age, a desire to be acquainted with their origin; and the disposition is almost equally general, to believe this origin illustrious, or at least respectable. The notion of noble blood, and the gradations of rank, which their chiefs have strenuously insisted are established by nature, for the better government of the world, and which, they contend, are essential to its peace and prosperity, probably suggested the vain pride of deriving lustre from ancestry. It would serve the double purpose of infusing a sort of national pride and spirit into the people, and of directing this spirit to establish and perpetuate their own authority. A people is with difficulty induced to question the rights of rulers, who derive their descent and authority from the Gods.*

WE find, that nations, in other respects, acute and rational, have not been able to divest themselves of this vanity : Even the Greeks and Romans, men, whose faculties were eminently improved by every species of knowledge, and who enjoyed the inestimable privilege of self-government, appear to have felt its influence in its full-

* Witness the blind submission of the tribes of the Natches, to their horrible government, and the idolatrous respect entertained for their monarchs, by the Peruvians and Mexicans.

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I.

est extent. The fathers of history and song, are forever wandering in the mazes of fable, for their original. Virgil and Livy ; Thucidides and Sophocles, have alike given sanction to this error ; and those sublime geniuses, whose writings have improved and delighted the world, pretend to have all imaginable respect for those traditions, which derive the blood of Romulus, of Theseus, and Achilles, from one of the thirty thousand deities, who composed the magnificent establishment of heathen worship.

IN modern times, indeed, there is less of fable in the genealogy of nations ; the art of printing affording a stronger light and clearer medium than the weak and dubious gleam of oral tradition.... Yet we too, have had our *fables; and our priests to the full as liberal as those of antiquity, have collected armies of †martyrs and saints, whose pictures and statues, executed by the ablest ‡artists, command our admiration and sympathy.... The establishment of offices of heraldry, in the several countries of Europe, and the rage with which armorial bearings and devices are sought for by individuals, is sufficient evidence, that ¶we are not

* See the account of the origin of the French monarchy, and of the northern countries of Europe.

† The moderns do infinitely out-number the ancients in divinities : One item alone in the account, is eleven thousand virgins : The mythology of the ancients is positively jejune and barren, compared to such prolific powers of deification.

‡ The chef d'œuvres of the best masters of the Flemish and Italian schools, express the sufferings of the pious. The churches are full of those pathetic representations.

¶ Mankind in general.

much wiser in this respect, than those, who have gone before us.

AN honester and more manly pride, I will acknowledge, actuates the people, whose history I write, although even they do not furnish a complete exception. Separated from Europe by a war, provoked by tyranny, and which terminated in the triumph of liberty, and the establishment of a republican government, the people of Virginia, in common with those of the other members of the American confederacy, deliberately turned their backs on antiquity, looking solely to nature and reason for models and examples. The revolution, like a strong tempest, scattered the archives of superstition, and blew down her temples; and the minds of the people, unfettered by a slavish respect for authority, every day disclosed new energies in the faculty of reasoning.

THE curiosity which nations discover concerning their original, when it amounts to nothing more than a thirst for knowledge; a desire to examine the springs of human actions, to read the lives of their founders, for the purpose of imitating their virtues, and steering clear of their errors; to compare the actions of men with their professions, and to note the march of mind with the causes of its occasional declension: If it seek to draw from the revolution of empires, maxims for regulating their manners, and correcting their policy, it is a laudable quality, which should be fostered by the sensibility of man, and the policy of government.

FORTUNATELY for the people, whose history I write, the source of their greatness needs not to be traced to the night nor the infancy of time; to the dark or heroic ages: They derive no artificial renown from the beautiful fictions of poetry: Tradition has thrown round their origin nothing

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I.

of the mysterious or marvellous: Their founders are scarcely out of sight. A handful of hardy adventurers appeared on different parts of this continent, within the last two hundred years, and from them sprang a republican confederacy of seventeen nations. But for their principal virtues and exploits we must direct our attention to the last thirty years. In this short span, they have crowded ages of glory; during this period, they resisted the encroachments of the mother country; they broke the fetters of colonial subjection; they defied the armies and navies of Britain. Within this short period, generals and statesmen were formed without any previous discipline or instruction; orators and poets sprang up as it were by magic; whilst inventive and experimental wisdom were successfully employed in advancing in all directions, the boundaries of human knowledge. These thirty years form the most luminous portion of the line of duration.

It is due to the virtues and glory of this people, that history should eternize their achievements: It is important to the world, that their struggles and their triumphs should remain on record. Tyrants will learn moderation whilst they read; by them, slaves will be instructed how to regain their rights, and afflicted humanity will find consolation in the prospect of a better order of things.

PREVIOUSLY to entering on the history of this people, and the first settlement of this state, it is conceived essential to consider the state of navigation and commerce among the ancients. The merit of modern discoveries cannot be fairly appreciated but by comparison. It will be necessary then briefly to state what lights were found in the writings of the ancient sages. Such an enquiry will moreover connect and complete a series of maritime adventure.

NOTWITHSTANDING the astonishing advances made by the ancients in the fine arts, and several branches of science, their notions of geography were crude and unnatural. They had early made a division* of the earth into zones, and pretended to fix with precision the number of †degrees to each zone. But their actual observation and experience was confined to ‡the northern temperate zone. Beyond this, all was fiction and conjecture.

* Pythagoras and Thales divided the heavens into five zones. Parmenides transferred this division to the terrestrial globe.

† Eratosthenes supposed the torrid zone to comprehend sixteen degrees: The calculation of Posidonius supposed twelve degrees on each side of the equator: Parmenides, in his division, makes the torrid zone the largest of the five.

‡ Men can only subsist on a small part of the surface of the terraqueous globe, the extremes of heat and cold not allowing them to inhabit the regions near the poles, or those adjoining to the equinoctial line. They have multiplied only in temperate climates: But many geographical maps have erroneously given a circular form to the portion of the earth which they occupy. The habitable world stretches to a much less distance from south to north, than from east to west. To the north of the Euxine we find the Schythian nations; some of which cultivate the earth, and others wander over their vast domains. The countries still farther are inhabited by different nations and tribes, and among others by the Arthropophagi. Beyond this barbarous people, we suppose there are immense deserts.

Towards the north-east, beyond the Caspian sea, dwell several nations, the names of which have been transmitted to us, with this additional circumstance, that some of them sleep six months together; that others have only one eye, and others again the feet of goats. You will judge from these stories of our geographical knowledge.—To the westward, we have penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules, and have a confused idea of the nations inhabiting the coast

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REASONING analogically from the increase of heat in approaching the equator, they concluded that the torrid zone, continually exposed to the action of a vertical sun, was waste and uninhabitable. That the opposite temperate zone possessed inhabitants, was, with them, barely a conjecture, depending too on analogies, only somewhat more natural; but they imagined, that the central zone opposed itself as an impassable and everlasting barrier of fire, to a communication between them. The other zones, from their intense cold, they deemed alike incapable of supporting life. It is said, indeed, that Pythagoras, Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Ptolemy, entertained a more rational opinion on this subject; but whatever stress may be laid on the express opinion of the three first, and on the silence of the last of those philosophers, in his treatise on geography, it cannot be doubted that the former was the prevailing opinion, and was embraced by the most illustrious sages of antiquity.

BUT however this matter may stand, as it respects the ancients, there is no doubt, that it was the prevailing opinion in Europe, among the philosophers and navigators, so late as the fourteenth century: And when we consider, that the attention of mathematicians and geographers, in

of Iberia; but to the interior part of the country we are utter strangers.

As for the interior of Afric, we have heard of a route that entirely crosses it from the city of Thebes, in Egypt, to the pillars of Hercules. It is asserted likewise, that several great nations exist in that part of the earth, but we are not told their names; and you will naturally imagine, after what I have said, that they do not inhabit the torrid zone.

Anacharsis, vol. 2, p. 210—211.

His authorities are the best in all antiquity. Strabo, Aristotle, Diogenes, Anaxagoras, Herodotus, and Ctesias.

their closets, in all parts of Europe, was irresistibly drawn to this subject, by the first discoveries of the Portuguese, and that they were impelled, as well by interest, as curiosity, to throw light on this subject : When we reflect, that learned men were actually engaged to consult with or accompany the first navigators, it cannot be doubted, that the ignorance of the true figure of our globe, was alike common to the theoretical and practical scholars of those times.

THE awe with which successive navigators made their gradual advances to the equator, and the unconquerable horror excited by their approaches to a zone, which was considered on fire, speak more forcibly than volumes on this head.

THIS notion of an uninhabitable zone, was long cherished by a sort of mysterious dread, to which superstition was not backward in lending her assistance ; so unwilling is man to renounce the prejudices, which afford him only misery and terror....and it was not finally *abandoned, even after the adventurous spirit of navigation had passed and repassed this imaginary barrier of fire.

MANY learned men, educated in the gloom of monastic or academic retirement, and enthusiastically attached, from the very nature of their studies, to the ancient writers, whose superiority over the moderns, they passionately contend for on all occasions, are unwilling to admit this gross ignorance in their favorites ; and even some, who had enlarged their views, by mixing with the world,

* The Spaniards, who had never ventured so far to the south, were afraid that the ships would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the destructive qualities of that torrid region of the earth.

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I.

are unwilling to lay down the prejudices of their youth. Dr. Robertson, a name of high authority, has been at some pains to rescue from this general imputation, the ancient sages. He admits, however, that Cicero, the most accomplished scholar of the very learned age in which he lived, and a student, moreover, for a considerable time, at Athens, where he had an opportunity of being acquainted with the opinions of the Greek philosophers, did absolutely *teach, as the popular, or, rather, as the only opinion, the intolerable heat of the torrid zone, and the utter impracticability of passing the equator. Cicero must be presumed to have known at least the opinions of his cotemporaries; and it cannot be, that so great a master, was ignorant of the existence of an opposite opinion, if such an one existed.

WITHOUT suffering ourselves to be engaged in a contest, which has already fruitlessly employed so much time, it may not be amiss to suggest a few observations, which will make the ignorance of ancient geographers easy to be credited; not that it is deemed essential to an history of this state....but the historians, who before treated this subject, having given it importance by their speculations, it may be supposed that my silence gave sanction to their opinions.

THE science of geography, although, (as its name implies) it peculiarly relates to the globe on which we live, and, therefore, may be presumed most accessible to our observation; is, perhaps, more dependant on the other branches of knowledge, than any other subject. Unassisted by astronomy, it is a dark and trackless desert, without a single star to direct us. Again....As-

* *Somnium Scipionis*, c. 6.

tronomy is nothing more than the incessant application of geometry to the bodies composing our system. It is necessary, too, that this application be not merely in arithmetical calculation, or that the results *accord in the truest harmony of numbers. Observation must confirm them; they must be tested by experience: Until they have passed this ordeal, they are at best but vague and floating theories, buoyed up for a season by analogy; but unable to establish themselves, for the want of the solid foundation of facts.

If these positions be correct, it will follow, that the ancients had no correct knowledge of geography.

THEIR scheme of mathematics, on paper, was, indeed, magnificent; but it does not appear that Euclid extended his views beyond the proposition to be demonstrated, the corollaries it embraced, and the deducibles which obviously sprang from it.

HISTORIANS speak with rapture, of Archimedes' tremendous array of mechanic powers in defence of Syracuse; yet, their utmost labors were unable to give to this branch, the form and method of a science: They could not agree on the principles, and they disputed eternally about the definitions of its common and most familiar terms.† The lever and the balance, whose uses obviously present themselves, were indeed well understood; and with those simple contrivances, it was that Archimedes atchieved real miracles.

* See the arithmetical and astronomic lyre of Pythagoras, by the number of whose strings, and the division of its tones, he attempted to explain the planetary system.

† Witness the various definitions of motion.

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I.

THE celebrated proposition* of Pythagoras, for ascertaining the figures and dimensions of bodies, which cannot be placed in juxta position, afforded the antients the means of an easy communication with the sun and the fixed stars ; but they were utterly ignorant of the telescope ; and this divine invention became consequently almost useless in their hands.

ARISTOTLE treated of the sympathies and antipathies of bodies, and it is not even impossible that he annexed to those terms, a meaning not widely different from what we give to attraction and repulsion : but there is not the slightest circumstance to justify the belief, that he considered his sympathy as a grand general law, regulating, like the principle of Newton, the motion, distances, and times of the heavenly bodies ; acting at the same moment, throughout the universe, and preserving its order, beauty, and harmony.

WITH experimental knowledge, they were entirely unacquainted. They discovered the electric properties of Amber, and here their knowledge of electricity rested. With the nature and properties of light : With our atmosphere and its phenomena, and the innumerable wonders of natural philosophy ; with the polarity and variation of the needle, they were utterly unacquainted.

THEY started ingenious theories ; they fortunately glanced by conjecture on some detached parts of science : sometimes by analogy, but oftener by accident, they caught a glimpse of the truth, which they as speedily abandoned in pursuit of some new meteoric refulgence ; but as an harmonized whole, depending on unalterable principles, and regulated by imperishable laws, they

* *Euclid, lib. 1. Prop. 47.*

were utterly unacquainted with the system of the universe. What madness then to prolong the dispute....Let them seize or divide the palm in epic & dramatic poetry ; in ode, epigram, and elegy : Let history be conceded to them, and the province of criticism thrown into the bargain ; let them insist on their superiority in eloquence, and if it must be so, in painting and statuary ; and how then will stand the account. The one is the son of Alcmena in his cradle ; the other is Hercules armed with his club, and clad in the skin of the Nemaean lion.

BUT although the ancients possessed not that just and correct knowledge of geography, which is essential to navigation ; and were moreover unassisted by that mysterious power, which communicates a constant polarity to the needle, a taste for the rich productions of distant countries, added to the restless spirit of conquest, had enabled them to extend their commerce far beyond what was to be expected from their very limited knowledge.

WITHOUT any other lights than some vague conjectures of their philosophers, they had circumnavigated the African continent. Thule and the Canaries, places very distant from each other, and situated in the midst of the ocean, were successively discovered ; their commerce flowed in channels which have long since been dried up.

THE Egyptians transported the riches of India by the Arabian gulph and the stream of the Nile, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Commerce
of the Egyp-
tians.

THE Phœnicians having passed the Streights of Cadex, opened an intercourse with the western coasts of Spain and Africa ; while, like the Egyptians, they sought the riches of India by the Red Sea.

Of the Phœ-
nicians.

THE Carthaginians following the track of their

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I.

Of the Carthaginians.

founders, the Phœnicians, passed the Straights of Gades, and visited the coasts of Spain, France, and Britain. They explored the western coasts of Africa, as far as the tropic of Cancer, and finally reached the Fortunate Isles, or Canaries, the utmost limit of ancient navigation.

THE waters of the Nile and the Red Sea, from the death of Alexander, to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, conveyed the riches and luxuries of the east to Alexandria; from which place, they were taken by the merchants of the Roman empire, and distributed through its vast provinces.

Farther improvement in navigation.

THE steady course of the winds, which, in the ocean, that separates Africa from India, blow for one half the year from the east, and one from the west, suggested a farther improvement in navigation; and these monsoons, serving instead of a compass, or the stars, they set sail from Ocelis, at the mouth of the Arabian gulph, and stretching boldly across the ocean, were conducted by the breeze into the Indian port of Musiris: Having taken in their lading, they put themselves under the direction of the eastern monsoon, and completed their voyage in one year.

BUT the principal discoveries of the ancients, were by land, as those of the moderns were by sea; and the cause of this difference lies in the imperfect knowledge of ancient geography, the rude structure of their vessels, and the inscrutable and almost miraculous virtues of their compass.

THE voyages of Hanno, of Himilco, of Necos,* and Eudoxus, † prove that the ancients were not

* Several attempts have been made to extend geography

† It is further alledged, that other navigators have doubted this part of the world. *Anacharsis, vol. 2, p. 211.*

inferior to the moderns in enterprise, patience, or sagacity.

CHAP.
I.

THE capital of the Greek empire, gave refuge to the arts and sciences, expelled from Rome by the fury of her savage conquerors; and their strong passions for the luxuries of India, uniting with the spirit of adventure, they kept up an intercourse with those countries, by the old channels of the Nile and Red Sea; but the followers of the prophet, having conquered Egypt, a new channel was opened by the industry and avarice of the Greeks: The productions of India were conveyed to the shores of the Euxine, by the Indus, the Oxus, the Caspian, the Volga, and the Tanais; and were from thence transported to Constantinople.

Commerce
of the Greek
empire.

I HAVE attempted this brief account of the navigation and commerce of the ancients, because I think it will connect and explain the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. It will be necessary briefly to add, in order to complete the series, that the Arabians, like the Romans, suffered themselves to be captivated by the arts of the people they had conquered. The productions of Ptolemy, who flourished in the second century, were translated into the Arabic; whilst directed by hints, which they found scattered up and down the writings of the ancient sages, they carried to consi-

Of the Ara
bians.

to the southward. It is pretended that by order of Necos, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years ago in Egypt, some vessels, manned with Phœnicians, took their departure from the Arabian gulph, made the circuit of Africa, and returned after a voyage of two years, to Egypt, by the straights of Cadir. (a)

Anacharsis, vol. 2. p. 211.

(a) His authorities are Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny.

CHAP.

I.

Of the Ita-
lian cities.

derable perfection, the sciences of speculative geography and astronomy.

By this time, the clouds, which, for so long a season, concealed the arts, were rapidly breaking away. The maritime states of Italy, enjoying a favorable position for commerce, maintained a lively intercourse with the capital of the Greek empire, which preserved the spirit of maritime adventure. The remote regions of Asia, became known to Europe, by the soldiers of the crusade ; while the travels of Marco Paulo, Sir John Mandeville, and others, revived the ancient opinion of the immense extent of India, and the possibility of finding it by the waves of the Atlantic.

SUCH was the state of commerce, and the spirit of adventure, at the close of the twelfth century : But, navigation was on the point of experiencing an entire and wonderful revolution. The stars and constellations formerly the only guide for mariners in the night, were abandoned forever ; and man, in the midst of night and tempest, felt himself secure and confident on the ocean, under the guidance of a power, whose mysterious properties, he was utterly unable to explain.

Invention of
the Mari-
ner's Com-
pass.

THE ancients were acquainted with the attractive property of the magnet ; but the power it possessed, of communicating its virtue to a needle, so as to make it point towards the poles, had eluded their observation. Flavio Gioia, an inhabitant of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, is handed down to us as the author of the compass. We are left in the dark as to the circumstances by which he was led to this discovery ; and for the immortality he enjoys, he appears to be more indebted to chance, than to the gratitude of posterity.

So strong, however, was the influence of long

established habits, that no *immediate advantages were reaped from this important discovery : And it was not till nearly after the lapse of half a century, that the Spaniards, by the discovery of the †Canaries, gave evidence of a fuller reliance on the virtues of this infallible conductor; and of the boldness, which confidence never fails to inspire.

BUT they had, as yet, only reached the utmost boundary of ancient *navigation* ; and several subordinate parts, such as the circumnavigation of Africa, were obliged to be taken on trust.

THE first link in the chain of modern discovery, is to be traced with clearness to the year 1412, when the Portuguese dispatched a small squadron to sail along the western shores of Africa, bounded by the ocean, in order to discover the unknown countries situated there. The motives and success of this maritime enterprize, may be said to have originated in their contiguity to Africa, and to a war which raged at that time between them and the Moors, on the Barbary coast. This squadron, having doubled Cape Non, hitherto, as its name implies, considered as an impassable boundary, and proceeded one hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bogador, returned to Lisbon, ‡more satisfied with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no farther.

IN successive expeditions, they discovered the isles of Porto Santo and Madeira ; in the latter of which places, a settlement was immediately made ;

Cape Non
doubled.
Porto Santo
1418-19.
Madeira.
1420.

* The English were the first, who used the compass, during the reign of Edward III.

Voltaire's Univ. Hist.

† These islands were known to the ancients in the times of Ptolemy and Pliny.

‡ *Robertson.*

CHAP. and slips of the vine from Cyprus, and of the sugar
I. cane from Sicily, were planted.

Cape Bogador, 1433, still appearing stretching to the south, they continued to advance within the tropics, having discovered in a few years the river Senegal, and the whole length of coast extending from Cape Blanco, to Cape de Verde.

1446. Spirit of discovery suspended. HERE the spirit of discovery for some time paused : They had penetrated within the tropics ; but they kept at a respectful distance from the equator. They ventured on the skirts of this fiery and intolerable zone, and rested there. The Portuguese, who, with the exception of the compass, depended wholly on the light of ancient knowledge, inherited their fears of the torrid zone ; and concluded, that to transcend this fiery barrier, was, at once, prophane and impracticable.

THEIR own observations added strength to this opinion. They saw the shades of the human complexion gradually darkening, as they approached the equator, until it became fixed in the uniform black of ebony ; while the change in feature, though less perceptible, regularly followed the gradation of color.

It was not difficult, by the help of analogy, to complete, in the present state of their minds, the remainder of the hypothesis : An heat, every moment increasing, they naturally concluded, would soon become insupportable : Some arguments, drawn from policy and prudence, urged by a party then in Portugal, contributed to retard the spirit of discovery.

Recovers its elasticity under Prince Henry. BUT the elasticity of the human mind, was too strong, to be long weakened by such considerations, and the ardent and philosophic mind of Prince Henry, and of his brother Pedro, gave full scope to the unshackled energy of invention.

THE sanction of the Pope to the laudable exertions of the Portuguese, which was given in the shape of a bull, relieved the fears of superstition ; whilst a liberal encouragement to ingenious foreigners, filled the ships of Portugal with the boldest and most skilful navigators in Europe.

THE Cape de Verde islands, and those of the Azores, were discovered after an interval of three years from each other : Shortly after, the Portuguese crossed the line, and discovered that the torrid zone was not only habitable, but fertile and populous.

1446 Cape de Verde discovered.
1449, Azores.
1471, Portuguese cross the line.

THE next expedition advanced one thousand five hundred miles beyond the line, and the Portuguese, for the first time beheld a new *heaven, and observed the †stars of another hemisphere ; while by a bolder and more fortunate expedition, conducted by Bartholomew Diaz, they discovered the Cape of Good Hope.

1484.
1486.

THE discovery of this Cape, since become so interesting, left not a doubt on the mind of the sagacious monarch of the Portuguese, that he had at length found the true route to India ; and finding his opinion confirmed on this head, by the information of travellers, whom he had dispatched to Abyssinia, one of whom had visited the sea-coast of India, and landed on the east coast of Afric, he prepared to accomplish a project, which, at that time, engaged the attention, and excited the avarice, of the different nations of Europe. But, before this scheme could be carried into execution, mankind were astonished by the discovery of a new world.

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

* For the first time, Europeans beheld the south pole, and the four adjoining stars.

† It was till this time matter of doubt, whether the needle would point to the south pole.

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A SLIGHT attention to this connected series of discovery, will suggest to the least reflecting observer, the manifest superiority of experimental knowledge, over theory and speculation. Systems built on analogy, have succeeded each other, and perished in rapid succession. Every fact, on the contrary, is a datum which may be depended on, and however it may, when inconsiderately examined, suggest or appear to sanction fallacious conjectures, it cannot fail, when accompanied with succeeding ones, of leading to certainty, and according with principles. It was to a conviction of this truth, that Newton was indebted for his immortal reputation. His predecessors supported themselves on the feeble staff of analysis alone : he wisely turned his attention to facts also ; and finally succeeded in passing the Alps of literature, by the judicious association of synthesis, or the reasoning by composition.

Birth and
education of
Columbus,
1447.

CHRISTOPHER Columbus was born in the little republic of Genoa, where from its position and limited territory, a considerable portion of its citizens are usually engaged in commerce. He early discovered a predilection for the sea, and the talents essential to securing success and reputation on that element. His father, attached himself to the profession of a mariner, by time and habit, and observing, perhaps, the unequivocal proofs of a genius for maritime adventure in his son, did every thing in his power to second his inclination ; and he is found, at the age of fourteen, making his first essay in a vessel bound to a Mediterranean port, at that time the principal channel of Genoese navigation.

1467.

Six years after, disdaining, doubtless, the tame navigation of his neighborhood, he appears off the coast of Iceland, at that time a famous resort on account of its fishery ; where, instigated possibly

1467.

by the spirit of enterprize, which was now becoming general, he advanced several degrees within the arctic circle.

HIS next voyage was with a celebrated captain of his own name, in a small squadron equipped for war and commerce; which cruised for several years with success....sometimes against the Turks, and often against the Venetians. In this arduous employment, Columbus displayed courage and experience; but to fulfil the high duties which fate had in reserve for him, it was necessary he should quit this service.

It is given out, that returning richly laden from the low countries, his vessel took fire in an obstinate engagement with some Venetian caravals, together with the enemy to which he was grappled; and that, with a presence of mind, which never deserted him, he jumped overboard, and with the assistance of an oar, reached the Portuguese coast.*

COLUMBUS, after a residence of some time in Portugal, having married the daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, who had assisted in †discovering the isles of Porto Santo and Madeira, got pos-
Enters into the service of Portugal.

* *Life of Columb.* 6 V.

† Perestrello went not with the expedition, which discovered Porto Santo. Mr. Robertson mistakes the fact when he supposes that he discovered this island. Charlevoix makes no mention of Perestrello in the discovery of Porto Santo or Madeira, possibly because the expedition was immediately under the command of Tristah Vaz and Jean Gonzalez. The same author, in his *Fastes Chronologiques*, mentions a previous discovery of Madeira. "Quelques auteurs Anglois ont avancé que Madera avoit été découverte plus de 60 ans auparavant par un homme de leur nation, homme Machir, qui la tempeste y avoit jeté par hazard avec la femme.

Charlevoix Nouvelle Franc. p. 6.

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session of the journals and charts of that navigator, by which he became acquainted with the course of the first navigators, with their fears, doubts, and expectations ; with the dangers they had encountered, and hints, how they might be avoided.

To a character, like that of Columbus, these papers were indeed a treasure ; and whilst he read, his mind was filled with enthusiasm and transport. This may, with propriety, be called the age of naval chivalry : Adventure was a passion, which heated the imaginations of men. Ordinary spirits took fire, while they listened to the romantic descriptions of the first navigators : Minds of a superior cast heard them with awe and astonishment. Their genius was stimulated to invention, and fresh truths flashed every moment on their imaginations. Where demonstration could not be had, induction was resorted to, and magnificent projects and daring theories were struck out.

WHILE Columbus brooded over the papers of Perestrello, his mind was elevated with the hope of transcending the glory of his predecessors, and at once to gratify his curiosity, and perfect his *experience, he continued to trade for several years with Madeira, and with all those places the Portuguese and Spaniards had discovered on the African sea.

BUT the time was fast approaching, when he was to abandon forever the servile track of imitation ; when, depending on the sole light of his own genius, he should deliberately turn his back on the land, and direct his bark across the trackless ocean.

* *Rob. Am. vol. 1, p. 87.*

A PASSAGE by sea to the East Indies, was at this time the great object of Portuguese adventure; and from the glory, as well as the wealth, which such a discovery promised, Columbus was directed to the same enquiry. The prevailing opinion was, that having sailed round the extremity of Africa, to the south, an eastern course would discover that *continent. Columbus, reflecting that near half a century had already been employed in the gradual approach from Cape Non to the equator, concluded, that if discovered at all by this route, it was an enterprize out of his reach, and reserved for posterity. He did not hesitate a moment to reject this timid and tardy scheme of discovery, and threw himself on the resources of his own genius, and the information he had collected. With a mind thus unfettered by the fears and ignorance of antiquity, deeply and attentively he revolved the circumstances of his past experience and observation: To these, he added the opinions and conjectures of ancient †authors, together with reports of pilots and ‡mariners.

* This opinion was grounded on the circumnavigation of Afric, during the reign of Necos, and after, by Eudoxus, of Cizicus.

† Some of the ancient geographers, in particular Pliny, had affirmed the possibility of sailing from Spain or Afric in a short time to India.

‡ In the sea, between Madeira and the western isles, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane, had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine trees, a covered canoe, and two human bodies, of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans, had been found on the shores of these islands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had seen islands not more than one hundred leagues westward from the Azores.

Belknap's Biog. Life of Columbus.

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THE result of his enquiry was, an opinion, that by sailing across the Atlantic directly to the west, new countries must be discovered.

THE principles on which this theory of Columbus is founded, are minutely detailed in a life of the discoverer, written by his son Ferdinando. According to the ancient mode of dividing a subject, they are arranged under three heads ; natural reason, the authority of writers, the testimony of sailors ; and pursuing the same method, the merits of each head are separately discussed.

It will be sufficient, however, in this place, briefly to detail them.

FROM the *spherical figure of the earth, and its extent, which the ancient geographers had ascertained with tolerable precision, the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, so far as they were known, formed a very †inconsiderable part of the earth. 'Tis true, the space, which was yet unexplored, if indeed it existed at all, might be water ; but it was imagined more suitable to the wisdom and goodness of God, that the undiscovered parts, instead of an ocean, waste and barren, should afford habitation to man : It was reasonable, moreover, in order to preserve the due equi-

* Thales predicted a solar eclipse ; Pythagoras, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras, in their writings, account for this phenomenon. Aristotle, in his " De Cælo, lib. 2, chap. 8, vol. 1, p. 461," explains a lunar eclipse. They must have consequently known the figure of our earth.

† Our mathematicians pretend, that the earth contains four hundred thousand stadia. (a) I know not whether the estimate is just ; but I am very sure, that we are scarcely acquainted with one quarter of that circumference.

Anacharsis, vol. 2.

(a) Aristot. de Cælo.

poise of the *earth, as a member of the solar system, that a quantity of land should exist on the other side, proportioned to what is found in the ancient continent. This reasoning received confirmation, by the reports and observations of modern mariners.

It is unnecessary to detail the reasons, which led him to believe, that these unexplored countries formed a part of the Indian continent. The bare opinion of the vast extent of this country, entertained by the ancients, would of itself, be sufficient to justify this conjecture.

HAVING removed all doubts from his own mind, he was impatient to establish a like conviction in others, and to test it, if possible, by experiment.

In a work, which proposes to record the events

* This opinion of the earth, although it has many advocates even at this day, does not possess much weight... The spherical figure of the earth, and its motion, being conceded, the law of attraction will regulate the motion and station of bodies in a fluid state; and their excess in bulk putting out of view all considerations of density, will be sufficient for the desired equipoise.

† Anacharsis, and after him Pliny, in his Natural History, lib. VI. c. 17, contended it was equal to a third of the habitable globe.

“To the east, the conquests of Darius have made us acquainted with the nations which reach as far as the Indus. It is said, that beyond that river, there is another country as extensive as all the rest of Asia. (a) It is India, a very small part of which is subject to the kings of Persia, who annually draw from it a considerable tribute in (b) gold dust; of the remainder we have no knowledge.”

Anacharsis, vol. 2, p. 210.

(a) *Ctesias ap. Strab. lib. 15, p. 689.*

(b) *Herodotus, lib. 3, chap. 94.*

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of a single state or nation, it will be easily seen, that long and minute descriptions of the American discoverer, are not to be expected : Such an history could not fail indeed, to afford pleasure and instruction : It would, however, be a digression injurious to the interest and unity of the present subject.

OMITTING then to detail his several applications to his native country and to other states, we hasten to the time, when, after a thousand disappointments, occasioned by ignorance* and envy of mankind, he made sail from the port of Palos, on Friday the third of August, one thousand four hundred and ninety two.

HE directed his course to the Canaries, where having refitted and victualled his little squadron, he made sail from Gomera, the most westerly of these islands, on the sixth of September. From

* The objection made to the proposal of Columbus, by the most learned men in Spain, to whom the consideration of it was referred, will give us some idea of the state of geographical science at that time. One objection was, how should he know more than all the wise men and skilful sailors, who had existed since the creation? Another was, the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were possible to navigate the ocean at any great distance from the shore ; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined that three years would be required to perform the voyage, which Columbus proposed. A third was, that if a ship should sail westward on a round globe, she would necessarily go down on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return, because it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Augustine, in which he had expressed his doubt of the existence of Antipodes, and the possibility of going from one hemisphere to the other. As the writings of this holy father had received the sanction of the church, to contradict him was deemed heresy.

Belknap, Columbus, Herrera, Robertson.

the moment he left this island, the course which he had so long considered the true and direct route, was instantly taken ; the heads of his vessels were turned full towards the west, and he deliberately turned his back on land, and stretched out into the midst of the ocean.

ON the second day, he lost sight of land ; and his crews, struck at once with the full force of their danger, lamented their fate with tears and other signs of sorrow, as if they were never more to behold land.* On the fourteenth of September, the fleet being above two hundred leagues west of the Canaries, the fears of the sailors were revived by the westerly variation of the needle, and it required all the address of Columbus, to dispel their apprehensions.

STILL following their westerly course, they struck into the track of the trade winds, which, between the tropics, blow invariably from east to west, and were carried steadily along ; their hopes occasionally revived by the flight of various birds, and as often disappointed.

THEY were now twenty days at sea without any prospect of ever seeing land, when the murmurs of the sailors were converted into remonstrance, and their tears into rage ;† but this great man's presence of mind did not desert him on this trying occasion. He saw the imminence of his danger, and drew out all the resources of his genius to oppose it ; he spoke to his mutinous crews, of the honor of their country, and the glory of God, and threatened them with the vengeance of their monarch, and with punishment in the world to come, if by their clamours this great project was

* *Rob. Amer. vol. I. p. 223.*

† *Ibidem, p. 224.*

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defeated, a project favored by heaven, and which promised so much glory and riches to Spain. After this, relaxing the sternness of his countenance with a voice and manner which bespoke assurance in the success of his project, he dwelt on the riches and honors which awaited their obedience, and concluded by promising a reward to the first, who discovered land.

THOSE arguments, urged with boldness and energy, had the effect of securing their obedience for some time; but on the thirty-third day of the voyage, both officers and sailors tumultuously crowded on deck, and he was constrained to promise that he would abandon his project, if after three days they did not see land.*

October 11. HE did not hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of land were now so numerous and unequivocal,† that on the eleventh of October, he ordered the ships to lie to, lest they should fall in with the shore in the night. Columbus himself, who constantly remained on deck, first observed a light at a distance, and shortly after the joyful cry of land, land, was heard from the Pinta; and the dawn removed their doubts and apprehensions, by discovering to them an island of a pleasant appearance. The murmurs of the crews were now converted into gratitude and reverence: They fell at his feet, and with tears besought his pity and forgiveness.

October 12.

WITH a drawn sword in his hand, he took possession of this island, one of the Bahamas, to which he gave the name of Salvador, in the name of the king of Spain; and having discovered several others in that vast Archipelago, he returned to Spain, having accomplished a work in the

* *Rob. Amer. vol. I. p. 125.*

† *Ibid. p. 126.*

space of thirty-six days, which eclipsed the glory of the greatest conquerors.

AFTER this, he made three other voyages, in one of which he discovered the American continent ; but finding his great services repaid by the court of Spain, with ingratitude and injustice, he died of a broken heart at Valladolid.*

THIS extraordinary man appears to have united two qualities, which have been generally thought irreconcilable ; an enthusiasm bordering on phrenzy, and a caution but little removed from fear. Vigorous and rapid in conceiving a project, and embracing its detail, he determined in a moment the part it became him to act ; but his resolution once formed, his enthusiasm vanished ; whilst coldly, and with severity, he arranged the means and the mode of carrying it into execution. Determined in his choice of measures by no wayward love of change, by no capricious regard to novelty, but by strong and demonstrative assurance only of their fitness and propriety, he did not abandon a project he had once formed. His ardor and constancy were equalled only by his patience and caution.

HAVING early foreseen the difficulties, he should have to encounter, as well from the nature of his projects, as from the envy of mankind, he set himself at work to acquire the temper and address necessary to conquer them ; and in this, he was happily assisted by the original character of his mind, and the immense variety of his experience.

POSSESSING an absolute dominion over himself, he found little difficulty in establishing his ascendancy over others. Self-balanced and col-

* *Herrera. Col.*

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lected in the midst of dangers and distresses, under which, ordinary minds had sunk, despondence nor despair could not approach him. He stood aloof and erect, like the sea-beaten promontory, whose brow is tranquil, while the ocean impotently thunders at its feet.

THE voice of Columbus, as well as his face and person, powerfully seconded his exertions; easily accommodating themselves, by their pliancy and flexibility, to the several passions he wished to convey. Serene and tranquil, when he was desirous of concealing from his associates, the greatness and imminence of their danger; ardent, earnest, and spirited, whilst he sought to reanimate their courage, by the seducing descriptions of riches and honors. His face brightened; his eye appeared to sparkle with hope; and his crews, whilst they listened, secretly reproached themselves with having too hastily doubted of the skill and fortune of their leader.

BUT, independent of his address and presence of mind, there was in Columbus an inherent respectability of person and deportment, which humbled the crest of earthly distinction, and awed faction and envy into silence. Even in the Spanish court, when its haughty monarch returned flushed with his recent conquest of Grenada, he found himself compelled, spite of his prejudices, to treat with respect this great man of nature, who stood in his presence unembarrassed and collected.

THE courtiers, with evident marks of surprize, heard him explain his sublime scheme of discovery, perspicuously and with precision; but when they heard him proudly fix the price of his labors, and peremptorily refuse to abate an atom of his lofty pretensions, they were lost in utter astonishment.

UPON the whole, if objects of great and universal benefit, shall be preferred to such as are of manifest injury ; if, to discover a world, be more honorable and advantageous, than to waste and make desolate the one, on which mankind, from the beginning of the world, have been made miserable by the mad ambition of their rulers ; if the union of learning, of courage, and humanity ; of inventive wisdom, and the talents of being able to plan, to accomplish, and to consummate, be more deserving our esteem and admiration, than the inhuman art of wasting with fire and sword ; of murdering millions in battle....the character of Columbus may safely challenge competition with the proudest in history.

CHAPTER II.

Effects of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries on Britain—state of Britain under Henry VII.—favorable to maritime adventure. Encouragement to ingenious foreigners. John Cabot and sons—the king grants them a patent of discovery—they discover Newfoundland—they return with three of the natives. Sir Humphrey Gilbert takes possession of Newfoundland for the crown of England. Patent to Raleigh granted by Elizabeth. First expedition under Captains Amidas and Barlow—cast anchor at Wococon Island, in North Carolina—conduct of the natives—their king Wingina—friendly behavior of Granganameo, brother to the king. The English arrive at Roanoke—hospitality of Granganameo's wife during his absence—return to England with two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese—joy of Elizabeth at the report of this discovery—gives it the name of Virginia. Sir R. Grenville sails for Virginia with seven ships—narrowly escapes shipwreck on Cape Fear—anchors off Wococon—Manteo serviceable as pilot and interpreter—excursion into the country—village of Aquascogok burnt—cause of this violence. Sir R. Grenville sails to Hatteras—leaves one hundred and eight persons at Roanoke. Thomas Harriot, the mathematician. Employment of the colony at Roanoke. John Wythe. Menatonon, king of the Chowanocks. Death of Granganameo.

Animosity of Wingina. Ensenore, father to Wingina—his affection for the English. Okisko, king of Meotopomeoke—owns subjection to the English. Conspiracy of Wingina—He is slain, with eight of his followers. Sir Francis Drake arrives—colony returns with him to England. First tobacco seen in England—becomes fashionable by the example of Sir W. Raleigh. Ship, with supplies, arrives after the departure of colony—returns after a fruitless search. Sir R. Grenville arrives with three ships—leaves fifty men at Roanoke. John White arrives, with three ships, as governor. A charter granted by Raleigh. Search made for the colony left by Sir R. Grenville. Manteo baptised—proclaimed lord of Desamonpeake. Mrs. Dare, daughter of the governor, delivered of a daughter—she is called Virginia. Colonists are pleased with their situation. White returns to England—leaves one hundred persons behind as a colony—Difficulties in the way of an establishment at this juncture. Spanish armada. Ignorance of captains—their fondness for cruising against Spaniards. Raleigh's attempt to relieve the colony in Carolina—assigns his patent—Want of zeal in his assigns. Mr. White dispatched with three ships to the relief of colony—arrives at Hatteras—finds no traces of colony. Croatan—boat oversets—Two cables and an anchor lost in a storm—with difficulty escapes shipwreck—sails for West Indies. Six several attempts to discover the lost colony—failure. Bartholomew Gosnold.

CHAPTER II.

THE fire of discovery communicated from the spark struck out by the Portuguese, and blown into a flame by the bold and fortunate expedition of Columbus, was now rapidly spreading itself through the maritime powers of Europe. *Britain, which had long flourished as a naval and commercial power, and which had early been distinguished for the liberal principles of her government, and the adventurous spirit of her people, was not likely to look with unconcern at this rapid and incalculable accession of wealth and territory in her neighbors.

SPAIN, already sufficiently powerful by her recent conquest of Grenada, and the expulsion of the Moors, grew alarmingly out of proportion by her discovery of a new world : The Portuguese, a nation relatively weak, were starting into a pitch of consequence, which threatened to eclipse her reputation and power.

THEY had got the start of her too, on her own element ; and she had to regret that those vast

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Effect of
Spanish and
Portuguese
discoveries
on Britain.

* The fleet of Ethelred, Edgar's son, must have been little short of a thousand ships. Note C. Hume's Eng. Many of the English historians make Edgar's amount to three thousand, and to three thousand six hundred, and Brompton, p. 886, says, that Edgar had 6000 vessels. Doubtless these accounts are exaggerated ; but all the writers concur in representing the English naval power in those times, as numerous and formidable.

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countries, and their immense riches, had*been snatched, as it were, from her hands, by *fortune, which capriciously disposes of human events : it being more than probable, that the delay of even a few weeks, had placed Columbus in her service, and given her the fruit and glory of his enterprize,

BUT it was not the temper of this people to content themselves with vain regrets, where their pride and interest were concerned ; and although there was ground for supposing, that discovery was nearly exhausted, it was inconsistent with their honor and reputation, that the whole field should be abandoned without a single experiment,

Henry VII. ENGLAND, during the reign of Henry VII. was in a state of profound peace ; and commerce nourished by internal tranquility, and the prudent dispositions of her monarch, flourished beyond any previous example. This was a situation of affairs, favorable to useful enterprize ; and the discovery of Columbus, having given an impulse to the ardor of states and individuals, voyages of discovery became the ruling passion of the times.

John & Sebastian Cabot. AMONG the foreigners, whom this state of things had invited to settle in England, was John Cabot, a Venetian ; a man, profoundly skilled in navigation, and the sciences,† on which it depends. He had three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius,

* Bartholomew Columbus was dispatched by his brother to the court of Henry VII. with whom a negociation was concluded, by which the celebrated navigator was to be taken into the service of England, and enabled to put in execution his scheme of discovery, under royal protection : But the success of Bartholomew came too late....Columbus having sailed on his first voyage.

† *Forster's Voyages*, p. 266.

who inherited the enterprizing spirit of their father, together with his predilection and talents for the sea.

LEWIS and Sanctius settled in foreign countries, where they obtained eminence and distinction : * Sebastian remained with his father in the service of England.

I CONFESS my inability to explain how Sebastian has been able solely to bear away the merit of a discovery, when he sailed in company with : and under the orders of, his father : But the decision of posterity is in his favor, whose tribunal I am unwilling to impeach.

THE eldest Cabot, in defiance of the prevailing opinion of a western route to India, imagined it was more reasonable, by an inspection of the globe, to seek this interesting object by a northwest course. His project was communicated to the king, by whom it was favorably received ; and ‘ a commission was granted to John Cabot and his sons, their heirs and deputies, empowering them to sail to all parts of east, west and north, under the royal banners and ensigns ; to discover countries of the heathen, unknown to christians ; to set up the king’s banners ; to occupy and possess as his subjects, such places as they could subdue ; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king, as often as they should arrive at Bristol, (at which place only they were permitted to arrive) in wares and merchandize, one fifth part of all their gains ; with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandize as should be brought from their discoveries.’

Opinion of
Cabot res-
pecting the
route to In-
dia.

1496, 5th
March.

* Forster. Belknap.

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Two caravals were fitted out for this expedition, and victualled at the royal expence.

CABOT and his sons set sail from Bristol, steering their course to the north-west, till they reached the latitude of 58. The weather being extremely cold, they altered their course to the southwest, not expecting to see land, till they reached the north of China, from whence they intended to pass to India by the south : But on the twenty fourth of June, early in the morning, they were surprized by the sight of land, which, from being the first seen, was called Prima *Vista.

THIS land, by some writers, was thought to be a part of the island of Newfoundland ; while

Discover is-
land of New-
foundland.

* This land is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland ; and Dr. Forster thinks, that the name, Prima Vista, was afterwards changed to Bona Vista, now the northern cape of Trinity bay, in latitude 48 50 ; that Cabot called the land Bacalaos, the name which the savages gave the well known fish, the Cod ; and there is a small island off the south cape of Trinity bay, which bears that name. Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, (citing Galvanus for his authority) says, that the land discovered by Cabot, was in lat. 45. If this were true, the first discovery was made on the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and as they coasted the land Northward, they must have gone into the gulph of St. Laurence in pursuit of their north-west passage.

Belknap's Diag. life of Cabot, p. 152.

Stow, in his Chronicle, says, it was on the north-west side of Terra de Labrador.

Purchas is of opinion, that Sebastian Cabot discovered the American continent before Americus Vespucius, and even Columbus himself : And Mavor is weak enough to affect an agreement in this opinion, in defiance even of the dates he uses in his voyages.

On pretend que les Cabots reconnurent l'isle de Terre Neuve, puis une partie du continent de Labrador du Labrador.

Charlevoix Hist. Nouv. Franc. p. 9.

others, supporting their opinions by specious arguments, concluded, that Cabot touched at some part of the American continent.

AFTER a short stay, Cabot returned to England with three of the natives, as a present to the king. But as discoveries in these times were estimated solely by the mines of gold and silver they were likely to contain ; and Henry was engaged in a dispute with the Scotch, the spirit of maritime adventure was permitted to sleep for the present. 1583.

Nothing further was heard of this discovery, unless by a disastrous voyage of a London captain of the name of *Hoare, until the year 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, appeared off the bay of St. John's, and took †formal possession of the island for the crown of England. Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

* *Hackluit*, III, p. 130.

† On Monday the 5th of August, Admiral Gilbert had his tent pitched on shore in sight of all the shipping, and being attended by his own people, summoned the merchants and captains of vessels, both Englishmen and others, to be present at the ceremony. When they were all assembled, his commission was read and interpreted to the foreigners. Then a turf and a twig were delivered to him, which he received with a hazle wand. Immediately proclamation was made, that by virtue of his commission from the queen, he took possession, for the crown of England, of the harbor of St. John's, and two hundred leagues every way round it.

He then published three laws for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established, according to the mode of the church of England, By the second, the attempting of any thing prejudicial to her majesty's title, was declared tseason, acco ding to the laws of England. By the third, the uttering of words to the dishonor of her majesty, was punished with the loss of ears, and the confiscation of property.

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THESE proceedings, however, were attended with no other advantage, than as they furnished a ground, at some future day, of urging and determining the right of England to the territory in question ; and revived the spirit of maritime adventure.

Elizabeth grants a patent to Sir W. Raleigh.

THE latter effect was soon discoverable. Elizabeth, who directed her attention to whatever promised addition to the wealth and prosperity of her subjects, employed the celebrated Walter Raleigh to prosecute the scheme of discovery.

THIS gentleman was half brother, on the mother's side, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and had fitted out, at his own expence, one of the ships of this squadron....and notwithstanding the unhappy fate of his kinsman, who was wrecked on his *return, he persisted in his project of discovery and settlement.

THE patent to Raleigh appears to be copied almost verbatim from the Spanish grants. It contains the same pointed reservation of perpetual allegiance, and a †proportion of the gold and silver which should be obtained. There is, however, some difference between the mode of tenure, by which

* When the wind abated, and the vessels were near enough, the admiral was seen constantly sitting in the stern, with a book in his hand. On the 9th of September, the admiral was seen for the last time ; and was heard by the people of the island to say, " We are as near heaven by sea as by land." In the night, the lights of the ship suddenly disappeared. The people in the other vessels kept a good look out for him, during the remainder of the voyage. On the 22d of September, they arrived, through much tempest and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was seen or heard of the admiral.

† The proportion in the Spanish grants was generally a tenth : In Raleigh's and Gilberts, a fifth only.

Raleigh and Columbus held under their respective patents. The latter was constituted high admiral *in all* the seas, islands, and continents which he should discover; and his rights as proprietor, were hereditary, as well as the dignity of vice-roy, which was added to it. The jurisdiction of Raleigh was bounded by degrees of latitude; no additional title was added; and he became seized of his discoveries, to use the guarded and emphatic language of British jurisprudence, in fee; and was placed under the protection of the British courts.

BUT, perhaps, after all, these are distinctions of little importance, and if the result be permitted to determine, such, certainly, is the fact: For, neither the absolute fee of *Raleigh, nor the hereditary vice-royalty and proprietorship of Columbus, were any protection against the injustice of their respective monarchs.

THE liberality of the queen was displayed on this occasion, by an exclusive grant to Raleigh, for the sale of sweet wines, the profits of which were intended to assist in the project of discovery.

“THESE patents,” (says Stith) “were *mutatis mutandis* the very same with those granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a particular †abstract of which is copied from him.

THESE letters patent granted ‘free power and

* The grant to Raleigh was supposed to be forfeited by his attainder, notwithstanding the territory of Virginia was manifestly without the jurisdiction of the English courts. It was superseded by a royal grant to Sir Thomas Gates and others, bearing date 9th March, 1607.

† The originals are to be found in Hackluit, III, 135, and Forster, 292.

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‘ liberty to him, his heirs and assigns forever, to
‘ discover, find, search out, and view, all such re-
‘ mote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries,
‘ or territories, as were not actually possessed by
‘ any christian prince or people ; and thither to
‘ lead and carry with him, to travel thitherward,
‘ and there inhabit, such and so many of her ma-
‘ jesty’s subjects, as would willingly accompany
‘ and join in the enterprize. And that he should
‘ have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, to himself, his
‘ heirs and assigns, forever, all such land, coun-
‘ tries, and territories, so to be discovered, and
‘ possessed, with the rights, royalties, and juris-
‘ dictions, as well marine as other, within the said
‘ lands and countries, or the seas thereunto ad-
‘ joining, with full power to dispose thereof to her
‘ majesty’s subjects, and of any or every part
‘ thereof, in fee-simple, or otherwise, according
‘ to the laws of England, as nearly as convenient-
‘ ly might be ; paying to the Queen, her heirs and
‘ successors, for all services, duties, and demands
‘ whatsoever, the fifth part of all the ore of gold
‘ and silver, which should at any time there be
‘ gotten ; holding all the said lands and countries
‘ of her majesty, her heirs, and successors, by ho-
‘ mage, and by the payment of the said fifth part
‘ before reserved.

‘ MOREOVER, granting to him, his heirs and
‘ assigns, forever, licence to encounter, expel, re-
‘ pel, and resist, all person or persons what-
‘ soever, that should attempt to inhabit in the
‘ said countries, without his special licence and
‘ liking, or within the space of two hundred
‘ leagues of the place, where he, his heirs, or
‘ assigns, should, within six years next ensuing,
‘ make their dwelling and abode ; provided, the
‘ said countries were not before planted or inha-
‘ bited, within the aforesaid limits, by the sub-

jects of any christian prince, in amity with her majesty ; and giving and granting to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, full power and authority, to take and surprize, by all manner of means whatsoever, all and every person and persons, with their ships, vessels, or other goods and furniture, that should be found trafficking within the limits aforesaid, without the licence of the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs or assigns ; the subjects of the Queen's realms and dominions, and all other persons in amity with her, being driven thither by force of tempest or shipwreck, only excepted.

AND for uniting in more perfect league and amity, such lands and countries with the realms of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of those, who engage in the enterprize, the Queen grants and declares, that the said countries, so to be possessed and inhabited, should, from thenceforth, be in the allegiance and protection of her, her heirs, and successors ; and further grants to the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assigns, and to every other person or persons, to their, and every of their heirs, that they, and every of them, that should thereafter be inhabiting in the said lands, countries, and territories, should and might have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens, or persons native of England ; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

AND she farther grants to the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assigns, for ever, full power and authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, as well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, all such her subjects or others, as should adventure themselves in the said voyages, or should at any time thereafter inhabit the said lands, countries, or territories, or should

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‘ dwell within two hundred leagues of the place
 ‘ or places, where the said Humphrey, his heirs
 ‘ or assigns, or any of his or their associates,
 ‘ should inhabit within six years ensuing the date
 ‘ hereof; with power to constitute such statutes,
 ‘ laws, and ordinances, as should by him, the
 ‘ said Sir Humphrey, his heirs or assigns, be de-
 ‘ vised or established, for the better government
 ‘ of the said people: Provided always, that they
 ‘ should be, as near as conveniently might, agree-
 ‘ able to the laws and policy of England; and
 ‘ provided also, that they be not against the true
 ‘ christian faith, professed in the Church of Eng-
 ‘ land, nor any way tend to withdraw the sub-
 ‘ jects or people of those lands or places, from
 ‘ the allegiance of the Queen, her heirs or suc-
 ‘ cessors.

‘ PROVIDED always, and she hereby declares
 ‘ to all christian kings, princes, and states, that if
 ‘ the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, or
 ‘ any other, by their licence or appointment,
 ‘ should, at any time or times thereafter, rob or
 ‘ spoil, by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust
 ‘ or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of
 ‘ England, or any other king, prince, or state, in
 ‘ league or amity with the crown of England, that
 ‘ then, upon such injury, or upon just complaint
 ‘ thereof, the Queen, her heirs, or successors,
 ‘ should make open proclamation, within any of
 ‘ the ports of England commodious, that the said
 ‘ Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, or any
 ‘ other, to whom these letters patent might ex-
 ‘ tend, should, within the term to be limited in
 ‘ the said proclamation, make full restitution and
 ‘ satisfaction for all injuries so done: In default
 ‘ whereof, it should be lawful for the Queen, her
 ‘ heirs, or successors, to put the said Sir Hum-
 ‘ phrey, his heirs, or assigns, with his or their ad-

‘ herents, and all the inhabitants of the said places, out of their allegiance and protection ; and from such time that they should be so put out of the protection of the crown of England, it should be free for all princes and others to pursue them with hostility, as being no longer subjects of England, nor by the Queen, her heirs, or successors, any ways to be avowed, maintained, or defended.’

BUT Mr. Raleigh, who was taught by the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the great expences which a voyage of discovery created, was anxious to associate with him, as partners in the profits and perils of the adventure, men of weight, and such as were attached to him by similarity of taste, or by affinity or *blood : By the joint efforts of this association, two small vessels, plentifully supplied with necessaries, were equipt with all possible expedition, and put under the command of captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow.† Mr. Raleigh himself sailed not in the expedition, as has been generally imagined. England was a theatre at this time too interesting to be abandoned by a man of his genius, and his ‡favor at court, for the uncertain and distant benefits of discovery.

Arthur Barlow, & Philip Amidas.

On the twenty seventh of April, fifteen hun- Sail from Thames.

* Stith mentions his kinsman Sir R. Grenville, Sir W. Sanderson, who had married his niece, &c. &c.

† This mistake is grounded on a mistranslation of a passage in Heriot's translation : It is thus expressed in English—the actions of those who have been by Sir W. Raleigh therein employed ; which is thus rendered in the latin translation—“ qui generosum D. Walterum Raleigh in eam regionem comitati sunt.”

Stith. Belknap.

‡ Sir W. Raleigh was one of the Queen's council of war, as well as Sir R. Grenville and Mr. Lane.

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II.

July 2.

dred and eighty four, our adventurers set sail from the Thames, and having passed the *Canaries and the west Indies, a course at that time, owing to the imperfect state of navigation, conceived to be necessary, they approached the coast of Florida, and found themselves in shoal water. Land was not yet visible ; but a delicious fragrance, with which the gale came loaded, announced, at once, its nearness and direction, and on the fourth day, still borne on the gulph stream, they saw land.

1584, July
13, arrived
at Wococon
island.

WHAT precise point of the coast they first discovered, cannot be known with certainty, because the general name of Florida was given to that undefined extent of continent, extending from Cape Florida to Cape Breton ; but conjecture is led to sufficient certainty, by being told, that the adventurers, after coasting one hundred and twenty miles, cast anchor at †Wococon island, in North

* The reason of which, is thus expressed in the account of this voyage, written by Barlow : Because we doubted that the current of the bay of Mexico, between the Capes of Florida and Havannah, was much stronger than we afterwards found it to be.

† This island is generally supposed to be one of those which lie at the mouth of Albemarle sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Barlow, in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, preserved by Hackluit, says, that he, with seven others went in a boat "twenty miles into the river Occam, and, the evening following, came to an island called Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered, seven leagues ; at the north end thereof was a village." Mr. Stith, who wrote the History of Virginia, and who acknowledges that he had not seen this letter in English, but in a latin translation, supposes, that the island Wococon must lie between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and that the distance might be thirty leagues : But it appears from Barlow's letter, that the boat went in one day, and came in the evening to the north end of Roanoke. The distance is twice mentioned, once in miles,

Carolina. This island lay between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and was judged by Mr. Heriot to be about fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth. It was covered with wood, and abounded in deer and wild fowl.*

ON the third day of their landing, they saw three of the natives in a canoe, one of whom went ashore, and waited, without any signs of apprehension, the approach of the English. He spoke long and earnestly to them in his own language, and went boldly on board the ships. Having examined every part with his eyes and touch, he departed, much pleased with the strange things he had seen, and with some trifles which had been presented to him; and returned in a short time with his canoe loaded with fish, which he divided equally in two heaps, making signs that each vessel should take one.

THE next day, several canoes appeared, in one of which came the king's brother, whose name was Granganameo.... The king himself, whose name was †Wingina, lay ill of the wounds he had received in battle with a neighboring nation.

Granganameo.

and once in leagues. I see no reason, therefore, to admit Stith's conjecture in opposition to Barlow. Stith, however, appears to have been a very close and accurate enquirer, as far as his materials and opportunity permitted.

Belknap, note, p. 208.

This must have been the island of Ocacock, or at least some of the other small islands along the coast: For it cannot be, by Wythe's and Heriot's plan, Roanoke, or any other of those which beset and stop up the mouth of Albemarle sound.

Stith's Virg. p. 9.

They anchored at an inlet by Roanoke.

Beverley's Hist. Virg. p. 2.

* *Stith.*

† The country by the natives was called Wingadocia, in

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GRANGANAMEO, having left the canoes at a distance, and withdrawn from the great body of his attendants, doubtless to do away in the breasts of the English, all apprehensions of danger, and at the same time to manifest his confidence in them, repaired with only four of his people to the point of land, where the Indians had appeared the day before. Having spread a mat, he sat down on one end, whilst his four attendants occupied the other; and when the English landed from their boats, he discovered no apprehension, but invited them to sit down by him on the mat.*

THIS invitation being accepted, he evinced his joy, by striking with his hand on his head and breast, and then on theirs; signifying, by this action, that they were all one. His people preserved a profound silence, and when the English offered them presents, he took them into his own possession, making signs that they were his servants.†

AFTER this interview, the natives came in great

respect, possibly, to the reigning chief Wingina. The empire and people of Powhatan, of whom we shall have occasion to speak by and bye, were known by the name of their chief Werowanec, or emperor. Amongst all the Indian tribes, names were taken up, or laid aside, as circumstances demanded.

* *Stith's Virginia*, † *Ibidem*.

‡ These people were characterized 'as gentle, loving and faithful, living after the manner of the golden age, caring only to feed themselves with such food as the soil affordeth, and to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter : ' Yet their good qualities could not save them from the general fate of the new world. It is no wonder that the mildness of their dispositions was at length turned into gall.

numbers, bringing skins, coral, and materials for dying: But in the presence of Granganameo, none were permitted to trade, those excepted, who wore pieces of copper on their heads. This chief supplied them every day with venison, fish, and fruits, and invited them to his habitation at Roanoke.

THIS mutual interchange of good offices having established a good understanding between the Indians and English, captain Amidas, with seven others, ventured in a boat up the river *Occam, as it was called by the natives. The next evening, they arrived at the isle of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle sound, about seven leagues from the harbor, where they first anchored.

THE village of Granganameo, situated on the northern extremity of this island, consisted of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp pallisades. When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganameo was absent; but his wife received them with generous †hospitality.

THEIR boat she ordered to be drawn on shore, that she might not be injured by the surge; the oars, for better security, were taken to her house; while the English, by her orders, were conveyed from the boat on the backs of the natives. She took off their stockings, and washed their feet in warm water. When dinner was ready, she led them into an inner room, when they were feasted with venison, fish, fruit, and ‡thomoni.

WHILST they were eating, some of her people came in with their bows and arrows. The

* Which must be Pamptico Sound.

Stith, p. 10.

† *Stith, p. 11.* ‡ *Ibid. p. 12.*

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English, suspecting treachery, flew to their arms; but the wife of Granganameo, perceiving their suspicions, ordered the bows to be taken from her people, their arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the house. In the evening, the English thought it prudent to return to their boat, and having put off at a small distance from the shore, lay at anchor. Their generous hostess was hurt by this precaution; but there was no abatement in her desire to add to their comfort and accommodation. Provisions of various sorts were carried by her directions to the boat, together with five mats, as a protection against the weather: While several men and thirty women were commanded to remain all night on the shore, as a *guard against all possible danger.

THIS island was the limit of their discovery

* The attention of Granganameo and his wife bears so strong a resemblance to the conduct of the natives and their chief, Guanahari, at St. Thomas, as described by Columbus, that it appears not improper to mention it: "The king, says he, in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, having been informed of our misfortune, expressed great grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the islanders, in many large canoes: We soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great assistance.... He himself, with his brothers and relations, took all possible care, that every thing should be properly done, both aboard and on shore: And from time to time he sent some of his relations to me weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I can assure your highnesses, that so much care would not be taken to secure our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place, near his palace, until the houses, which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it, were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented, as if they had been much interested in our loss."

Life of Columbus, c. 32.

during this voyage ; *nor were they fortunate enough to procure any information, except a confused account from the Indians of the wreck of some ship on the coast, between twenty and thirty years before.

THEY returned to England about the middle of September, with two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese, who voluntarily accompanied them. The discovery produced so much satisfaction in the court of Elizabeth, that the Queen herself named the country *Virginia*, in allusion, it is thought, to her own †virgin state, or, as some have imagined, to the unadulterated purity and innocence of life and manners of the natives.

THE adventurers in this voyage, with the vanity inseperable from human nature, on their return, spread abroad marvellous accounts of their discoveries.

WE find the descriptions of all the early travelers and navigators, tinged with this romantic extravagance. They appeared to see only with the eye of the imagination, whose property it is to paint objects in the most glowing colors, and to draw them larger than the life.

PERHAPS, indeed, a cool and accurate examination of facts, is incompatible with an ardent spirit of enterprize : When the mind becomes heated by long consideration of a project, in itself great and magnificent, it enlarges the proportion of the object, in proportion as it is itself expanded by the ardent operation of thought.

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II.

Limit of
their discovery.

Joy of the
Queen at
this discovery.

* *Stith.*

† *Belknap's Amer. Biog.* 212. *Stith's Hist. Virg.* 10.—
Pour immortalizer la memoire de son celibat.

Charlevoix, p. xxvi.

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COLUMBUS himself is a striking instance of the truth of this opinion: That gravest and most respectable of navigators, who, above all others, was most capable of qualifying his ardor with coolness, in the intoxication of joy, produced by beholding his sublime project realized, yielded himself to the magic of *fancy. The new discovered countries, he looked on, as the terrestrial †paradise, in which man was first placed by the Almighty, and the objects he beholds, are made in his portrait to answer to the beauties of that delicious and poetical region.

THE glowing description given by the adven-

* I discovered (said this navigator in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella) a river, which a galley might easily enter: The beauty of it induced me to sound, and I found from five to eight fathoms water. Having proceeded a considerable way up the river, every thing invited me to settle there. The beauty of the river, the clearness of the water, through which I could see the sandy bottom, the multitude of palm trees of different kinds, the tallest and finest I had seen, and an infinite number of other large and flourishing trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plains, are so wonderfully beautiful, that this country excels all others, as far as the day surpasses the night in brightness and splendor; so that I often said, that it would be in vain for me to attempt to give your highnesses a full account of it, for neither my tongue nor my pen could come up to the truth; and indeed I am so much amazed at the sight of such beauty, that I know not how to describe it.

Life of Columbus, c. 30.

† The violent swell and agitation of the waters on the coast of Trinidad, led him to conclude this to be the highest part of the terraqueous globe, and he imagined, that various circumstances concurred in proving, that the sea was here visibly elevated. Having adopted this erroneous principle, the apparent beauty of the country, induced him to fall in with a notion of Sir J. Mandeville, c. 102, that the terrestrial paradise was the highest land on the earth, and he believed that he had been so happy as to discover this happy abode.

Robert. Amer. val, I. note xxi.

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II.

Sir R. Gren-
ville—1585
—April 9.

turers, of the fertility and beauty of Virginia, excited the curiosity and avarice of the people; and Sir Richard Grenville, a kinsman of Mr. Raleigh, and of eminence and repute at that time, as a military man, sailed the following year from Plymouth, with seven ships. He went by the *usual route of the Canaries and the West Indies, where he made two Spanish prizes; and after having narrowly escaped shipwreck on Cape Fear, he came to anchor off the island of Wococon, on the †twenty-sixth of June.

MANTEO, who had returned with this expedition, was of essential service to the adventurers. His knowledge of the coast, made him useful as a pilot; and of their language, as an interpreter; while his attachment to the persons of the English, and his zeal in their cause, smoothed the difficulties to a free and friendly intercourse with his countrymen.

UNDER his guidance, they made several excursions, and visited several villages on the islands and the main.

* By a reference to note P. it will be seen, why the first adventurers sailed by this long and difficult circuit: But it is not easy to discover why, after the experience of the first voyage; after the error of the force of the current between the Capes of Florida and Havannah, had been detected, Sir R. Grenville should have persevered in this route.

† Stith makes this happen on the 26th of May, and Sir W. Keith, who copies him, (says Belknap in his Biography) adopts the same mistake. I take the date from Belknap, for this reason, that it is barely possible, even with our present improvements in ship-building and navigation, to perform a voyage of such length in 47 days. Some time must have been taken up in making the Spanish prizes, and "in forcing the profitable trade," which Mr. Stith speaks of; so that, every thing considered, the thing is impossible.

CHAP.

II.

Burn the
town of A-
quascogok.

AT one of these towns, called Aquascogok, an Indian stole a silver cup, which, not being returned precisely at the time promised, drew down on the natives, the indiscriminating vengeance of the English commander. The town of Aquascogok was burnt, and the standing corn destroyed in the fields, whilst the affrighted people fled to the woods for protection.

SUCH return did the English make to this innocent people, for their generous and disinterested reception of them; for their anxiety to relieve their wants, by a liberal and regular supply of provisions; for the services of Granganameo and his wife, and the unsuspecting confidence reposed in them. All former acts of kindness were obliterated from the minds of those real savages, by the loss of a cup, for which even the offender had not been punished in a civilized community, without sufficient proof and the agency of a jury.

Leaves 108
as colony at
Roanoke.

AFTER this outrage, Grenville sailed to the island of Hatteras, leaving behind him one hundred and eight persons at Roanoke as a colony. Mr. Ralph Lane was constituted governor, and Philip Amidas, one of the captains in the former voyage, was appointed admiral. Thomas Heriot, the celebrated mathematician, and friend of Sir Walter Raleigh, with several others of note, remained behind with the colony.

WHILST the fleet lay at anchor off Hatteras, Granganameo paid his last visit to the English, in company with Manteo. After this, Sir R. Grenville sailed for England, and on the 18th of September, he arrived at Plymouth with a rich Spanish prize, which he had taken on the passage.

THE chief employment of the colony at Roanoke, was to explore the country, and acquire a knowledge of its geography and natural productions; for which purpose, in addition to Mr.

*Heriot, a profound mathematician, and one curious for speculative research, John †Wythe, an ingenious painter, was sent out by the careful and sagacious mind of Mr. Raleigh.

* Mr. Heriot wrote a topographical description of the country and its natural history, which is preserved in Hackluit's collection of voyages, vol. III. p. 226. It was translated into latin, and published by de Bry, in his collection of voyages. It has been supposed, that Raleigh himself came to Virginia with this colony : This is a mistake, grounded on a mistranslation of a passage in Heriot's narrative. It is thus expressed in English : "The actions of those, who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh *therein employed*"—Which is thus rendered in the latin translation—"qui generosum D. Walterum Raleigh in eam regionem comitati sunt." Stith, p. 20, in his History of Virginia, in summing up the testimonies in favor of Mr. Heriot's learning, says—"To which might be added, other testimonies, which have been carefully collected by the diligent and industrious Mr. Oldys, in his accurate life of Sir Walter Raleigh, lately prefixed to his History of the World, who likewise shews, that the famous French philosopher, Descartes, borrowed much of his light from this excellent mathematician ; and that the learned Dr. Wallis gave his preference to Heriot's improvements, before Descartes, although he had the advantage of coming after, and being assisted by him.

Belknap's Biog. p. 215.

† Upon this voyage, Sir W. Raleigh, by the Queen's advice, sent, at no small expence, Mr. John Wythe, a skilful and ingenious painter, to take the situation of the country, and to paint from the life the figures and habits of the natives, their way of living, and their several fashions, modes, and superstitions, which he did with great beauty and exactness. There was one Theodore de Bry, who afterwards published, in the year 1624, the beautiful latin edition of voyages, in six volumes folio, a most curious and valuable work. He being in England soon after, by the means of the rev. Mr. R. Hackluit, then of Christ Church, in Oxford, who de Bry tells us had himself seen the country, obtained from Mr. Wythe a sight of those pieces, with permission to take them off in copper-plates. These he carried to Frankfort, and pub-

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II.

THE *discoveries of the colony extended south to Secotan, an Indian town, by their reckoning distant from Roanoke eighty leagues, and lying between the rivers Neus and Pamptico. To the north, they advanced one hundred and thirty miles, to the †Chesapeake, a nation of Indians, seated on a small river, now called Elizabeth, which falls into the great bay of Chesapeake, below Norfolk. To the north-west, they went up Albemarle sound, and Chowan river, an hundred and thirty miles, to a nation of Indians called the Chowanocks, inhabiting a little beyond the fork of that river, where one branch takes the name of Meherrin, and the other of ‡Nottoway.

King of
Chowa-
nocks.

Deceives
the English.

THE king of the Chowanocks, Menatonon, was lame, but is represented by the adventurers, to have been shrewd beyond the cunning of the Indians they had seen. Having collected from the enquiries of the English, the principal subjects of their search, he amused Mr. Lane and his company with the story of a copper-mine and pearl fishery, and with the marvellous description

lished an edition of them, with latin explanations, in 1590. These are the originals from which Mr. Beverley's cuts are taken.

Stith, p. 16.

A similar publication was made by the same de Bry, in 1590, of figures and dress of the Florida Indians, designed during the settlement of Laudonier.

Charlevoix, p. 14.

* *Stith, p. 13.*

† In the Indian Language, *Mother of Waters.*

Stith.

‡ *Stith.*

CHAP.
II.Deceives
the English

of the source of the *river Moratuc, now Roanoke, which he represented as springing out of a rock, so near the sea, that in high winds the surge beat over it.

THE English, full of the hopes raised by those extravagant fictions, imagined, that the sea, described by Menatonon, was either the gulph of Mexico, or the South sea, and that a short route was discovered to South America ; prepared immediately to take possession of those riches, which the †discoveries of the Spaniards had taught them to believe were inexhaustible. With this view, they ascended this river in boats, and so fully persuaded were they of the truth of Menatonon's information, that they could scarcely prevail on themselves to return, even after their stock of provisions was reduced to less than a pint of corn per man, and two ‡mastiff dogs, which boiled with sassafras, they were compelled to eat before their return to Roanoke.

THE death of Granganameo, which happened during this excursion, proved a serious evil to the adventurers. During the life of this friendly Indian, his ||influence, supported by the authority of

* *Stith's Virg.* p. 13.

† This report was backed, nay, much advanced, by the vast riches and treasure mentioned in several merchants letters from Mexico and Peru, to their correspondents in Spain, which letters were taken with their ships and treasure.

Bev. Virg. p. 4.

‡ *Stith,* p. 15.

|| It is not difficult to account for the authority of Granganameo, if we believe that their manner of descent was simi-

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Ensenore their father, had restrained the animosity of Wingina ; but all check being removed by his death, he slighted the counsels of Ensenore, and omitted no occasion to manifest his dislike and hostility to the English.

According to a custom, which appears to have prevailed generally among the Indians of Virginia, when any change took place either in their circumstances or feelings ; he had changed his name of Wingina, and assumed that of Pemisaphan.

As far as our knowledge of Indian language and manners extends, it has been found, that the names of their warriors and chiefs are invariably derived from sensible objects. It is not improbable then, that Pemisaphan was a compound term, adopted to express his antipathy to the English ; unless the opinion shall be preferred, that it was used to denote an *accession of authority, on the occasion of Granganameo's death.

It was by the machination of this chief, that

lar to that of Powhatan, and the other tribes which inhabited Virginia. The brother of the chief was heir apparent, and succeeded to the sovereignty in bar of the children of the chief. In confirmation of this curious circumstance, we have the testimony of Powhatan, in his address to captain Smith : " I am grown old, (said the aged emperor) and must soon die, and the succession must descend, in order, to my brothers, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catanough, and then to my two sisters, and their two daughters.

* He (Powhatan) was succeeded in his dominions according to the regular order of succession, by his second brother Opitchapan, who is sometimes called Itopatin and Oetan, and now upon his accession to the supreme power, he again changed his name to Sasaupen, as Opechancanough did his, to Mangopeomen.

their expedition up the Roanoke was attended with so many difficulties; for having apprized the several nations of Indians, who inhabited its banks, of the projected voyage of the English, and spread amongst them suspicions of their evil views and intentions, they abstained from assisting them with provisions, and threw in their way all the difficulties in their power.

THE return of Mr. Lane with the English, for a while kept within bounds the malice of Wingina; and Ensenore, whose influence had declined with the report of the loss of Mr. Lane, in their expedition up the Roanoke, regained on his return, his authority and interest.

THE following year, the king of the Chowanocks, sent a present of pearl to Mr. Lane; and Okisco, king of Weopopomeoke (another powerful nation, possessing all that country from Albemarle sound and Chowan river, to the Chesapeake, and our bay) came himself, with twenty four of his principal men, to own subjection to the Queen of England.*

King of
Chowanock
sends a present.

THIS apparent prosperity of the adventurers, added to the influence of Ensenore, preserved peace with this savage: But by the death of Ensenore, which happened this year, all check, on his natural disposition, being removed, he meditated a plan for their utter extirpation.

UNDER pretence of solemnizing his father's funeral, he issued secret orders to the Indians, to rendezvous, with intent to fall on the English with the whole force of the nation: The plot, however, previous to the time fixed for its execution, was discovered to the English, by their prisoner Skico, the son of Menatonon.

Conspiracy
of Wingina
against English.

* *Stith.*

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AN attempt was made to retaliate on the Indians, by seizing their canoes, and thus keeping them in a state of seige on the island; but they took the alarm, and after a loss of six men, escaped into the woods.

AFTER various stratagems, on both sides, Wingina was at length drawn into an ambush, with eight of his chiefs, and *slain.

SOME days after the death of Wingina, captain Stafford, who had been stationed on the southern part of cape Look-Out, †to shift for himself, and to ‡‘see if they could spy any sail pass by the coast,’ sent intelligence to Mr. Lane, that he discerned twenty-three sail of ships; and the next day, he came himself with a letter from Sir Francis Drake.

F. Drake arrives with 23 ships, 1585.

THIS commander, who had been cruizing against the Spaniards, in the West-Indies, was ordered by Elizabeth to visit this colony, and to yield it all possible ||assistance.

THE first wish of the adventurers, was to remain at Roanoke, and for this purpose, they asked a supply of men and provisions, with a vessel, to enable them to return to England, in the event of any sudden and dangerous reverse: But their superstition being alarmed by a tempest, which drove this ship from her moorings with several

* *Stith's Virg. p. 15.*

† In like manner he detached Mr. Prideaux, with ten men to Hatteras, upon the same design, and other small parties, he sent to the main.

Stith's Virg. p. 15.

‡ *Stith.*

|| *Hume, vol. IV.*

others, out to sea, it was unanimously determined to desire Sir Francis Drake to take them to England. They arrived at Plymouth the latter end of July, 1586.

MR. Lane and his company carried with them some *tobacco to England, the †use of which, by the example of Mr. Raleigh, became fashionable at the court of Elizabeth.

‡ A SHIP, which Sir Walter had providently

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Colony returns to England.
First tobacco used in England.

* This plant, called uppowoc, is supposed to be brought from the isle of Tobago : But the Indians used it in every part of the American continent.

† Cambden says this was the first tobacco used in England.

Stith, p. 20. Hume, vol. IV.

Sir Walter Raleigh's tobacco-box, with some of his pipes, was lately extant, and laid up among the rarities in the museum of that curious antiquarian, the late Mr. Ralph Thornby, of Leeds, in Yorkshire. There are also some humorous stories still remembered, concerning his first use of tobacco ; particularly his wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly the weight of the smoke which went off in a pipe of tobacco. This he did by first weighing the tobacco, and then carefully preserving and weighing the ashes; and the Queen readily granted, that what was wanting in the prime weight, must be evaporated in smoke : And when she paid the wager, she said pleasantly, that she had heard of many laborers in the fire, that had turned their gold into smoke, but Raleigh was the first, who had turned his smoke into gold.

It is also related, that a country servant of his, bringing him a tankard of ale and nutmeg in his study, as he was intently engaged at his book, smoaking a pipe of tobacco, the fellow was so frighted at seeing the smoke run out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, in order to extinguish the fire, and run down stairs, alarming the family, and crying out, his master was on fire, and before they could get up, would be burnt to ashes.

Stith.

‡ However, at last, they provided four good ships, with all

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dispatched to the relief of the colony, at Roanoke, arrived a few days after their departure for England; and after a fruitless search for them in the country bordering on the sound, they returned in the summer to England.*

Sir R. Grenville arrives

SIR Richard Grenville, with three ships, arrived a fortnight after, with the same intentions; and having made an enquiry equally unsuccessful, he concluded, that they were slain by the Indians; but conceiving some hope from the information of Manteo, he left fifty men at Roanoke, and having built them houses, and left them a plentiful supply of provisions for two years, he returned to England.

Leaves fifty men at Roanoke.

HITHERTO I have attempted to keep alive the interest raised by a first discovery, by minutely detailing the incidents of the first adventurers, in their concerns with the Indians. So close an attention to the particulars of those voyages, is perhaps not essential to an history of this state, or consistent with the unity of this sort of composition: It was conceived, however, unnecessarily rigid, to pass over without notice, all mention of establishments, which, though in the end, they proved abortive, display so much generous hardihood, and which serve as a sort of preface to the settlement of this state.

WHAT remains of the history of this colony, is but a succession of disappointment and disaster, containing no incidents to enliven its sameness: It will be proper then, after having briefly enume-

manner of recruits suitable for the colony, and Sir Walter Raleigh designed to go in person with them.

Beverley, p. 7.

* *Stith.*

rated the successive expeditions, under Raleigh's patent, and to the colony at Roanoke; to hasten to the main design of this work, the History of Virginia.

THE following year, three ships were dispatched, under the command of Mr. John White, who was appointed governor of the colony, with twelve counsellors. To these, Mr. Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation, by the name of the governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia, with directions to settle on the river Chesapeake, the limit of their northern discovery.

Gov. White

THIS expedition took the usual circuit, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck upon Cape Fear, arrived safely at Cape Hatteras, on the twenty second of July.

A PARTY was immediately dispatched to Roanoke, in quest of the fifty men, left by Sir R. Grenville. They found the bones of a man where the plantation had been. The houses were entire, but overgrown with weeds, and the fort was destroyed. Manteo and twenty men were dispatched to Croatan, for farther information. They learned from the natives, that Mr. How, one of the council, who had disappeared, had been slain by some of Wingina's *people, and that the colony of Grenville, having been suddenly attacked by three hundred Indians of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dassamonpeake, after a slight skirmish, in which one Englishman had been slain, retired to Hatteras, from which they afterwards retired, they knew not †whither.

Sends in
quest of the
colony at
Roanoke.Hears from
Manteo that
they had re-
tired to Hat-
teras.

* In conversation with some of the natives, they were informed, that the colony had been destroyed by Wingina's people, in revenge of his death.

† *Stith, p. 24.*

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II.Manteo bap-
tised.Colony con-
tent to re-
main.100 persons
left on the
islands ad-
joining Hat-
teras.

ON the thirteenth of August, Manteo was baptized, and proclaimed lord of Dessamonpeake, in reward of his attachment to the English; and on the eighteenth, the daughter of the governor, the wife of Annanias Dare, was delivered of a daughter, who received the name of *Virginia.

It appears, that this colony was so well pleased with the appearance of the †country, and the prospect of an advantageous settlement, that when the ships were about to return to England, and it became a question, who was the fittest person to be employed on this occasion; all the colonists declined, except one, who was judged to be unequal to the †office; and the governor, by mere importunity and solicitation, was constrained, much against his wishes, to undertake it.

To reason from circumstances, it is difficult to account for the new hopes and confidence of the adventurers. There was just ground of belief, that the colony of Grenville had been destroyed by the Indians; and, with the exception of the natives of Croatan, they had been unable to reconcile any of the tribes, which bordered on the sound, to their establishment....So completely had the spirit and policy of Wingina infused itself into these people, who thought every thing little, when compared with their independence, and who considered a state of slavery worse than death.

HAVING left one hundred persons on one of the islands adjoining Hatteras, Mr. White returned to England.

BUT there appears a fatality in every attempt to form an establishment in this part of America. Notwithstanding the zeal and industry of Mr.

* *Stich.* † *Ibidem*, † *Ibidem*.

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Supplies
prevented,
thro' fear
of invasion

Raleigh, the supplies to the colony never arrived in season. Either too much time was employed in preparation for the voyage, or the impatience of the adventurers permitted them not to await the tedious and uncertain relief; and now, when there was a prospect of greater constancy in the colony, and greater benefits from the establishment, the posture of affairs at home, formed a new and more insurmountable difficulty. On the arrival of Mr. White, the English nation was engaged in preparations of defence against the projected invasion of Spain and what is called her invincible armada; and Mr. Raleigh found sufficient scope at home, for the exercise of his skill and military *ardor.

URGED indeed, by his zeal for the colony, he had, with the assistance of his kinsman, Sir R. Grenville, fitted out two barks, with which Mr. White put to sea from Biddleford, on the twenty first of April: But the voyage was rendered abortive by the avarice of the commanders, who, instead of proceeding on their voyage, went in quest of Spanish prizes, and were obliged to put back in a shattered condition, having narrowly escaped being captured by the enemy. 1583.

THESE disappointments by abating his hope, naturally produced in the mind of Mr. Raleigh, an abatement in his zeal and exertions.

FORTY thousand pounds had already been expended by himself and his friends, in the several expeditions; and nothing as yet appeared, even in prospect, to justify an hope of indemnification. The situation of his own fortune, would not justify any new sacrifices; and doubtless he was aware,

Raleigh as
signs his pa-
tent.

* *Hume's Reign of Elizabeth.*

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that the feelings and circumstances of his friends, were equally averse to new projects.

1588-89.

UNDER these impressions, and in order, it is suggested, that his mind should be left free to gratify his military ardor, and his resentment against the *Spaniards, he assigned his patent by indenture bearing date the seventh of March, to Thomas Smith and other merchants and adventurers, amongst whom was governor White, with a donation of one hundred pounds for the propagation of the christian religion in Virginia.

590.

BUT his assigns appear to have caught none of the zeal and industry of Sir Walter. Until the spring of the following year, no attempt was made to relieve the colony at Hatteras, or prosecute the scheme of discovery or establishment. At length Mr. White, with three ships, sailed from Plymouth : But no impatience was discovered to complete the object of the voyage. The usual circuit was taken, and a considerable delay was made in the West-Indies, for the purposes of traffic, and to make prizes of the merchant ships of Spain.

THEY arrived at Hatteras on the fifteenth of August ; and having discerned a smoke at the place where the colony had been left, they fired some cannon to announce their arrival, and went on shore ; but no men, nor any traces of a recent habitation appeared : On their return to Roanoke, one of their boats overset, and captain Spicer, with six others, were drowned : †Four, belonging to the same boat, were saved, by the zeal and activity of captain Cook, who commanded in the other boat.

THE crews were so discouraged by this mis-

* *Stith's Virg.* † *ibidem.*

fortune, that they were with difficulty prevailed on to make any farther search for the colony.

At length, however, being encouraged by the example of their commanders, they proceeded once more to Hatteras, in two boats.

It was concerted three years before, on the departure of governor White for England, that in the event of a change of habitation, they should write the name of the place to which they removed, in some conspicuous situation ; and that, if their migration was occasioned by distress, they should signify it, by drawing a cross over the word.

IN this search, the name of Croatan was discovered written in capital letters on a post ; but unaccompanied with the emblem which had been agreed on.

THITHER they concluded the colonists had retired ; and on the following morning, having with difficulty rode out the storm, which blew with great fury the preceding night, they weighed anchor for Croatan.

IN this short expedition, they experienced new disasters : One of their cables broke, by which they lost two anchors ; and having dropped the third, they were drifted so far, that the ship was near stranding.

So quick a succession of disaster, seemed to banish all thoughts from the sailors, beside that of personal safety ; and they sailed to the West-Indies, under pretence as they gave out, of refreshing themselves, and returning in the spring, to prosecute their search for their countrymen.

THIS appears to be the last serious attempt of Mr. Raleigh, or his assignees, to effect an establishment in this part of America. Six several times, vessels were dispatched to search after and relieve the colony, which had been left at Roan-

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oke, the last of which was so late as the year one thousand six hundred and two ; but the good intentions of Mr. Raleigh were rendered abortive, owing it is supposed, to the ignorance or indifference of the captains ; or, what is more likely, to the extermination of the colony by the Indians.

CAPTAIN Bartholomew Gosnold was the first, who revived the spirit of enterprize, which had slept since the year one thousand five hundred and ninety. He was the first also, who came by a direct course to America, although some writers ascribe this merit to captain *Argall.

THE country he touched at, was a part of New England ; and the name of Cape Cod, (from the abundance of that fish taken here) was given to the high land in sight of their anchorage.

1602. CAPTAIN Gosnold was much delighted with the appearance of the country, and the extreme salubrity and freshness of the air and climate.... After a short time spent in traffic with the natives, and observations on the country and its productions, he returned to England.

1605. ANOTHER expedition, planned by the merchants of Bristol, pursuing the route of Gosnold, visited this country in one thousand six hundred and three : Whilst captain Weymouth, dispatched for the purpose of making discoveries on the coast of Virginia, fell in, as Stith supposes, with Narraganset or Connecticut river.

WITH this expedition, the chain of maritime adventure, from the discoveries of the Egyptians, to the settlement at James-Town, is completed.

1593. ELIZABETH was now dead, and James VI. of Scotland, had mounted the English throne. Peace had succeeded the storms of war, and the spirit

* *Hume's Appendix to James's Reign.*

of discovery, altho' weakened by disappointment, had not entirely lost its elasticity. A taste for the fine arts, particularly for poetry, had for some time made its appearance in England ; while a manly cast of thinking, formed perhaps, by the study of the ancient classics, which in some degree, grew out of the rising taste for poetry, was perceptibly taking place of that fawning and servile stile, which the undefined nature of the royal prerogative had established during the reign of Elizabeth.

No season could be more fortunate than this, for the establishment of colonies. The manners of the English were, comparatively, guileless and gentle ; and their literature, although distant from the " amiable *simplicity," which characterizes the early writings of the Greeks, displayed the electric vigor, together with the sweetness and majesty of rude genius.

At such a juncture, a fair experiment might be made of the human character, from the history of a colony almost separated from the world, and embosomed in the forest.

* *Hume's Appendix to James, vol. IV.*

• *Journal of the American Medical Association*

CHAPTER III.

Bartholomew Gosnold—revives the spirit of discovery in England—explains his projects to captain John Smith, who embraces them, and becomes a zealous associate—extraordinary adventures of Smith—several influential characters are induced by his representations, to become associates in the plan of discovery—James grants a patent to the company—Sir Thomas Smith appointed treasurer. Two ships and a bark fitted out—Christopher Newport commands the squadron—dispute among the commanders—their envy of Smith. Squadron touches at Canaries. Smith imprisoned on charge of treason. Fleet enters the bay of Chesapeake. Sealed box opened. Who are of the council. Edward Maria Wingfield president. Smith deprived of his seat in the council. Sail up a great river called by the natives Powhatan—English give it the name of their king—make a settlement at a Peninsula, to which they gave the name of James-Town. Smith and Newport visit the falls—See Powhatan, emperor of the country—His conduct. English assaulted at James-Town by Indians—preserved in an extraordinary manner. Newport about to return. Smith's enemies affect commiseration—he defies them, and demands a trial—is acquitted—recovers damages against the president, which he presents to the common stock. Reconciliation between him and council—is permitted to take his seat as counsellor. New-

port returns. Great mortality amongst the adventurers. Gosnold dies. Scarcity. President and Kendall embezzle the public stores—indignation of the colonists—they are deprived of their authority—John Ratcliffe President. Smith goes in quest of provisions—is scornfully received by the Nansamonds—attacks them—takes their idol OKEE—they ransom it, and make peace. Wingfield and Kendall conspire to seize the bark, and abandon the colony—plot defeated by Smith's return. Conspirators resist—Kendall slain.—Great plenty. Smith is surprised by Opechanca-nough, and seven hundred Indians of Pamunkey—is wounded, but keeps off the enemy by his bravery—ties an Indian as a shield to his left arm—sinks into an ooze—is unable to make defence—his limbs frozen—makes signs to Indians to take him out—carried through the country in a sort of triumph—brought into the presence of the emperor, who prepares to put him to death—is saved by Pocahontas, the emperor's daughter—returns to James-Town—sends presents to Powhatan and Pocahontas. Newport returns. Vain search for gold. Character of Newport—He visits the emperor. Genius and penetration of this prince—he out-wits Newport. Wingfield and captain Archer are sent home with Newport. Smith examines the country—the bay of Chesapeake.—Great breadth of Potowmac. Ambuscade of Indians. Discovers a mine of antimony. He is stung by a stringray—returns, and is made president—leaves Matthew Scrivener as his deputy—resumes his plan of discovery. Wassawomecks. Tockwogs. Susquahaanocks—their great stature—were urgent with Smith to assist them against Wassawomecks. Sails up Rappahan-nock—returns to James-Town. Another plot during his absence—order restored. Return of

Newport—his special commission—his vain attempt to find the South Sea—brings presents to Powhatan. Dignified conduct of the emperor. First marriage in the colony. Appamattox Indians. Smith goes by invitation to Powhatan, who denies that he had sent any invitation. Stratagems on each side to surprize the other. Smith saved by information brought by Pocahontas at midnight. He drags Opecancanough by the hair. His life is attempted by poison. He is assaulted by the king of Paspaha—conquers him, and leads him to James-Town—his escape. Curious speech of Okaning. Peace with the Indians. Arrival of captain Argall.

[illegible]

CHAPTER III.

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III.

THE state of Virginia had its origin in the zeal and exertions of Bartholomew Gosnold. He had visited, as has been before stated, the northern parts of this country, and was so charmed with its pleasantness and fertility, that on his arrival in England, he omitted no occasion to expatiate on its value and importance to the nation. The rich furs and skins of various animals, with the other productions and curiosities of the new countries, were called in aid of his testimony; and had the effect to revive the spirit of discovery, which languished in consequence of the ill-success of Mr. Raleigh's exertions, and which appeared to be extinct after his imprisonment.

THE merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, were the first who were roused from their inaction by his discourses; but grown cautious by the fate of former expeditions, they weighed every circumstance with coolness; and judging rightly, that to prosecute an enterprize of this nature, required a fund not only large, but regular and certain; whereby any sudden disaster might be repaired, and advantage taken of every turn of fortune, they sought to give a lasting foundation to their projects, by associating as many men as possible of influence and property.

FORTUNATELY for the object, which Gosnold had so much at heart, there arrived at this time in London, captain John Smith, a soldier of fortune, of a daring courage, and a cast of thinking

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in the highest degree adventurous and romantic: His understanding was vigorous and penetrating; his judgment correct and solid; while his imagination was sublimed by poetry and romance. But perhaps a brief narrative of his life, will serve better than any description, to convey an idea of his character.

THE adventures of this singular man, destined henceforth to fill so distinguished a place amongst the first settlers of this commonwealth, are of a nature so extraordinary, and wear so much the face of fiction and romance, as to afford just ground of apprehension, that they will be slighted by posterity. They are however, of an origin so recent; they appear in so many various writings; and have such a variety of concurrent testimony in their favor, without having their authenticity refuted, or even doubted, in a single instance, that the historian would not be justified in withholding them.

I AM at the same time so apprehensive, that the romantic air and spirit of those adventurers, might be ascribed rather to my description, than to any circumstance of truth or reality in the facts themselves; that I have determined to content myself with what a late American biographer has said on the subject. I do not know that his narrative is more correct than Stith's; it is however, more copious, and contains some circumstances, which are wanting in the other.

“HE was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy nine. From the first dawn of reason, he discovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his school-fellows. When about thirteen years of age, he sold his books and satchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raise money, with a view to convey himself privately to sea; but the death of his

father put a stop for the present to this attempt, and threw him into the hands of guardians, who endeavored to check the ardor of his genius, by confining him to a compting house. Being put apprentice to a merchant, at Lynn, at the age of fifteen, he at first conceived hopes that his master would send him to sea in his service ; but this hope failing, he quitted his master, and with only ten shillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman, who was travelling to France.

AT Orleans, he was discharged from his attendance on lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England.

WITH this money he visited Paris, and proceeded to the low countries, where he enlisted as a soldier, and learned the rudiments of war, a science peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scots gentleman abroad, he was persuaded to pass into Scotland, with the promise of being strongly recommended to king James : But being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which suited his taste, he built a booth in the wood, and betook himself to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance : In which exercise, he at length found a companion, an Italian gentleman, rider to the earl of Lincoln, who drew him from his Sylvan retreat to Tattersal.

HAVING recovered a part of the estate, which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels, in the winter of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety six, being then only seventeen years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where, meeting with a Frenchman, who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them

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to France. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valory, in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship-master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time, they had conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously undertook to conduct him to Mortaine, where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at the place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could get no recompence ; but the report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

EAGER to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favors which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends, and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him. Without speaking a word, they both drew ; and Smith having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons, who had assembled on the occasion. Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the earl of Ployer, who had been brought up in England ; and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles ; visiting and observing every thing in his way, which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

AT Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a rabble of pilgrims. The ship was forced by a tempest into the harbor of Toulon, and afterwards obliged, by a contrary wind, to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice, in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them

ascribe their ill-fortune, to the presence of a heretic on board.

THEY devoutly cursed Smith, and his queen Elizabeth; and in a fit of pious rage, threw him into the sea.

HE swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Malo, which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend, the earl of Ployer, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria, in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant; and on his return, had the high satisfaction of an engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took, and rifled of her rich cargo.

SMITH was set on shore at Antibes, with a box of one thousand Chequins, (about two thousand dollars) by the help of which, he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and Irish jesuit, who introduced him to lord Eberspaught, baron Kizel, and other officers of distinction; and here he found full scope for his genius; for the emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

HE communicated to Eberspaught a method of conversing at a distance by signals made with torches, which being alternately shewn and hidden a certain number of times, designated every letter of the alphabet.

HE had soon after, an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberspaught being besieged by the Turks in the strong town of Olimpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of succor from his friends. Smith proposed his method of

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communication to baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in *practice.

He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and sufficiently remote from the Turkish camp. At the display of the signal, Eberspaught knew and answered it; and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence....‘ Thursday night, I will charge on the east; at the alarm, sally thou.’ The answer was, ‘ I will.’

Just before the attack, by Smith’s advice, a great number of false fires were made in another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy, and gave advantage to the assailants; who being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the seige. This well-conducted exploit, produced to our young adventurer, the command of a company, consisting of two hundred and fifty horsemen, in the regiment of count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

THE regiment in which he served, being engaged in several hazardous enterprizes, Smith was foremost in all dangers, and distinguished himself by his ingenuity and by his valor; and when Mel-

* The method is this. First, three torches are shewn in a line equi-distant from each other, which are answered by three others in the same manner. Then the message being written as briefly as possible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are signified by showing and hiding *one* light, as often as there are letters from A to that letter, which you mean. The letters from M to Z by *two* lights in the same manner. The end of a word is signified by showing *three* lights. At every letter, the light stands till the other party may write it down and answer by his signal, which is one light.

drick left the imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

AT the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single captain of the christian troops.

THE honor of accepting this challenge, being determined by lot, fell on captain Smith; who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of music, began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general, the lord Moyzes.

THE death of the chief so irritated his friend Crualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conqueror, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat, took off his head also. Smith then, in his turn, sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third champion could take it.

THE challenge was accepted by Bonamalgro, who unhorsed Smith, and was near gaining the victory; but remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his faulchion, which brought him to the ground, and his head was added to the number.

FOR these singular exploits, he was honored with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the Turks heads on the points of their lances.

WITH this ceremony, Smith was conducted to the pavillion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scymetar and belt worth three hundred ducats,

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and a commission to be major in his regiment. The prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum ; and moreover, granted him a coat of arms, bearing three Turks heads in a shield.

THE patent was admitted, and received in the college of heralds in England, by Sir Henry Seegar, garter king at arms.

SMITH was always proud of this distinguished honor, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontis piece to his history, with this motto,

“VINCERE EST VIVERE.”

AFTER this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars, near Rotenton, and many brave men were slain, among whom were nine English and Scots officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service, from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom.

SMITH was wounded in this battle, and lay among the dead : His habit discovered him to the victors as a person of consequence ; they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogul, who sent him as a present to his mistress, Tragabigzanda, at Constantinople, accompanied with a message, as full of vanity, as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

THE present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian ; and Smith, in that language, not only informed her of his country and quality, but conversed with her in so pleasing a manner as to gain her affections.

THE connection proved so tender, that to se-

cure him for herself, and to prevent his being ill-used, she sent him to her brother, the bashaw of Nalbraitz, in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, on the borders of the sea of Asoph. Her pretence was, that he should there learn the manners and language, as well as religion of the Tartars.

By the terms in which she wrote to her brother, he suspected her design, and resolved to dis-appoint her. Within an hour after Smith's arrival, he was stripped ; his head and beard were shaven ; an iron collar was put about his neck ; he was cloathed with a coat of hair cloth, and driven to labor among the christian slaves.

HE had now no hope of redemption, but from the love of his mistress, who was at a great distance, and not likely to be informed of his misfortunes ; the hopeless condition of his fellow slaves could not alleviate his dispondency.

IN the depth of his distress, an opportunity presented for an escape, which, to a person of a less courageous and adventurous spirit, would have been an aggravation of misery. He was employed in threshing, at a grange, in a large field, about a league from the house of his tyrant ; who, in his daily visits, treated him with abusive language, accompanied with blows and kicks.

THIS was more than Smith could bear ; wherefore, watching an opportunity, when no other person was present, he levelled a stroke at him with his threshing instrument, which dispatched him.

THEN hiding his body in the straw, and shutting the door, he filled a bag with grain, mounted the bashaw's horse, and betaking himself to the desart, wandered for two or three days, ignorant of the way, and so fortunate as not to meet with a single person, who might give information of his flight.

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AT length he came to a post, erected in a cross road, by the marks on which he found the way to Moscow, and in sixteen days he arrived at Exapolis, on the river Don; where was a Russian garrison, the commander of which, understanding that he was a christian, received him courteously, took off his iron collar, and gave him letters to the other governors in that region.

THUS he travelled through part of Russia and Poland, till he got back to his friends in Transylvania; receiving presents in his way from many persons of distinction, among whom he particularly mentions a charitable lady, Callamata, being always proud of his connexion with that sex, and fond of acknowledging their favors. At Leipsic, he met with his colonel, count Meldrick, and Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who gave him one thousand five hundred ducats to repair his losses.

WITH this money, he was enabled to travel through Germany, France and Spain, and having visited the kingdom of Morocco, he returned by sea to England; having, in his passage, enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement.

AT his arrival in his native country, he had a thousand ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures and make discoveries in North America."

To this extraordinary man, Gosnold communicated his project, accompanied with such descriptions of the countries he had seen, and their productions, as were best calculated to interest and animate his ardent and adventurous spirit.

BUT the penetration of Gosnold quickly discovered, amidst the easy and careless levity of Smith, a sound and vigorous understanding; and to avoid shocking his hearer, by what might be

taken for the figurative licence of a traveller, he displayed, without disguise, the labors, the dangers and expence incident to the undertaking : And this he did, without apprehension of abating the ardor of his hearer, from a knowledge perhaps, that when a great mind is once filled with the beauty and greatness of a project, the difficulties attendant on the execution, are forgotten, amidst the delicious dream of honor, which fancy anticipates.

AIDED by the zeal and reputation of such an associate, the project of Gosnold was embraced by several characters of distinction, and finally received the sanction of the king : And first letters patent were obtained, dated the tenth of April, 1606, one thousand six hundred and six, by which the tract of country, from thirty-four to forty-five degrees of latitude, was divided into the southern and northern colonies of Virginia, and persons named as a council or superintendants for both.

IN addition to this charter, which may be seen among the other public papers, the king granted a set of instructions under the privy seal, wherein he appoints a council for Virginia. Nov. 20.

By this instrument, the affairs of both colonies were submitted to the direction of a single council, and Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the tower, and Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Cope, Sir George Moore, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Trevor, Sir Henry Montagu, recorder of the city of London, Thomas James, of Bristol, and James Bagge, of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, merchants ; Sir Thomas Challenor, Sir Henry Nevil, Sir Fuke Grevil, Sir John Scot, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Morris Berkely, Sir Edward Michelborne, Sir Thomas Holcroft, Sir Thomas Smith,

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clerk of the privy council, Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir Herbert Croft, Sir George Copping, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Roe, and Sir Anthony Parmer, knights nominated to him, by and on behalf of first colony : And with Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Mallet, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Thomas Freak, Sir Richard Hawkins, and Sir Bartholomew Mitchel, knights, Thomas Leamer, Bernard Grenvil, and Edward Rogers, Esquires, and Mathew Sutcliffe, doctor of divinity, and afterwards dean of Exeter, nominated by him on behalf of the second colony, ‘ were constituted ‘ his majesty’s council for both colonies, for all ‘ matters that should happen in Virginia, or any of ‘ the territories of America, between thirty-four ‘ and forty-five degrees of north latitude, according to the purport and tenor of the letters patent : That they should have full power and ‘ authority, at the pleasure, and in the name of ‘ his majesty, his heirs, or successors, to give directions to the councils, resident in America, ‘ for the good government of the people there, ‘ and for the proper ordering and disposing all ‘ causes within the same, in substance as near to ‘ the common law of England, and the equity ‘ thereof, as might be ; reserving to his majesty, ‘ his heirs, and successors, a power to increase, ‘ alter, or change the said council, at their will ‘ and pleasure ; and that his majesty’s council in ‘ England, should nominate and appoint the first ‘ members of the several councils, to be resident ‘ in the colonies,

‘ THAT the said councils, resident in the colonies, or the major part of them, should chuse ‘ one of their own body, not being a minister of ‘ God’s word, to be president of the same, and to ‘ continue in that office for the space of one whole ‘ year, and no longer : And that it should be law-

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ful for the major part of the said councils, upon any just cause, either of absence or otherwise, to remove the president, or any of the council; and in case of death or such removal, to elect another into the vacant place: Provided always, that the number of each of the said councils, should not exceed thirteen. That the said presidents, councils, and the ministers, should provide, that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rights and doctrine of the church of England.

THAT they should not suffer any to withdraw the people of the said colonies from the allegiance of the king, his heirs, or successors; but should cause all persons offending, to be apprehended and imprisoned, till full and due examination, or if the cause so required, should send them to England, with all convenient speed, there to receive condign punishment.

THAT all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, should be had, inhabited, and enjoyed, within the said colonies, as the like estates are held and enjoyed, by the laws of England.

THAT tumults, rebellion, conspiracy, meetings, and sedition, together with murder, manslaughter, incest, rapes, and adultery, committed within any of the degrees aforesaid, (and no other offences) should be punished by death, without the benefit of clergy, except in cases of manslaughter, to which clergy should be allowed; and that the said presidents and councils, within their several limits and precincts, should have full power and authority, to hear and determine concerning the said offences, in manner and form following, viz: By a jury of

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‘ twelve honest and indifferent persons, returned
 ‘ by the proper officers, and sworn upon the evan-
 ‘ gelists, who should, according to the evi-
 ‘ dence given, upon their oath, and according to
 ‘ the truth in their consciences, convict or ac-
 ‘ quit the several persons so charged, and tried
 ‘ by them : That every person who should vo-
 ‘ luntarily confess the said offences, or should
 ‘ stand mute, and refuse to plead, or make di-
 ‘ rect answer, should be, and be held as fully con-
 ‘ victed of the same, as if he had been found guil-
 ‘ ty by the verdict of the twelve jurors aforesaid :
 ‘ That the said presidents and councils, or a ma-
 ‘ jor part of them, within their several precincts
 ‘ and limits, should have full power and authori-
 ‘ ty, to give judgment of death upon every such
 ‘ offender, without benefit of clergy, except in case
 ‘ of manslaughter ; and that no person, so ad-
 ‘ judged, or condemned, should be reprieved, but
 ‘ by the consent of the said president and coun-
 ‘ cil, or the major part of them ; nor should re-
 ‘ ceive full pardon, or be absolutely discharged
 ‘ from the said offences, but by the king, his heirs
 ‘ or successors, under the great seal of England ;
 ‘ and finally, that all persons, offending as afore-
 ‘ said, within the degrees abovementioned, but
 ‘ out of the precincts of their own colony, should
 ‘ be tried and punished in their proper and res-
 ‘ pective colony.

‘ THAT the said presidents and councils, with-
 ‘ in their several precincts and limits, should have
 ‘ power and authority, to hear and determine all
 ‘ other wrongs, trespasses, and misdemeanors
 ‘ whatsoever ; and on sufficient proof upon oath,
 ‘ should respectively punish the offenders, either
 ‘ by reasonable corporeal punishment and impri-
 ‘ sonment, or else by awarding such damages, or
 ‘ other satisfaction, to the parties aggrieved, as to

‘ them, or the greater part of them, should seem fit and convenient ; and that the said presidents and councils should have power to punish all manner of excess, thro’ drunkenness or otherwise, and all loitering, idle, and vagrant persons, according to their best discretions, and with such convenient punishment, as they, or the most of them, should think fit : That these judicial proceedings should be made summarily and verbally, without writing, till they came to judgment or sentence ; which should be briefly registered into a book, kept for that purpose, together with the cause, for which the said judgment or sentence was given, subscribed by the said president and council, or by such of them as gave the judgment.

‘ THAT for five years, next after their landing on the coast of Virginia, the said several colonies, and every person thereof, should trade altogether in one stock, or in two or three stocks at most, and should bring all the fruits of their labors, with all their goods and commodities from England or elsewhere, into several magazines or store-houses, for that purpose to be erected, in such order, manner, and form, as the councils of the respective colonies, or the greater part of them, should prescribe and direct : That there should be annually chosen by the president and council of each colony, some person to be treasurer or cape merchant of the same, to take charge of, and to manage, all goods and wares, brought into, or delivered out of the said magazines ; upon whose death, voluntary resignation, or removal for any just or reasonable cause, it should be lawful for the said president and council, to appoint two others, (or more, if need be) persons of discretion ; the one to enter into

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‘ a book, kept for that purpose, all goods, wares,
 ‘ and merchandizes, brought into; and the other,
 ‘ to charge, in a like manner, all taken out of the
 ‘ magazines or store-houses; which clerks should
 ‘ continue in their places, only at the will of the
 ‘ president and council of their respective colo-
 ‘ nies; and lastly, that every person of each of
 ‘ the said colonies, should be furnished with ne-
 ‘ cessaries out of the said magazines, for the space
 ‘ of five years, by the appointment, direction, and
 ‘ order of the president and council of their res-
 ‘ pective colonies, or of the cape merchant, and
 ‘ two clerks, or the major part of them.

‘ THAT the adventures of the first colony should
 ‘ chuse out of themselves, one or more compa-
 ‘ nies, each consisting of three persons at the least,
 ‘ to reside in or near London, or at such other
 ‘ place or places, as the council of the colony, for
 ‘ the time being, or the most part of them, dur-
 ‘ ing the said five years, should think fit; in the
 ‘ same manner, that the adventurers of the second
 ‘ colony should chuse the like companies, to be
 ‘ resident in or near Plymouth, or at such one,
 ‘ two, or three other places or ports, as the coun-
 ‘ cil for that colony should think fit; and that
 ‘ these minor companies should, from time to
 ‘ time, take care and charge of the trade, and an
 ‘ account of all the goods, wares, and merchandi-
 ‘ zes, that should be sent from England to their
 ‘ respective colonies, and brought from the colo-
 ‘ nies into England, and of all other things, relat-
 ‘ ing to the affairs and profits of their several com-
 ‘ panies.

‘ THAT no person should be admitted to abide
 ‘ or remain in the said colonies, but such as should
 ‘ take, not only the usual oath of obedience, but
 ‘ also the oath, prescribed in the last session of
 ‘ parliament, holden at Westminster, in the fourth

‘ year of his majesty’s reign, for due obedience
‘ to the king, his heirs, and successors.

‘ THAT the presidents and councils of the said
‘ colonies, or the major part of them, should have
‘ power to constitute, make, and ordain, from
‘ time to time, laws, ordinances, and officers, for
‘ the better order, government, and peace of their
‘ respective colonies: Provided nevertheless, that
‘ those ordinances and constitutions did not touch
‘ any party in life or member; and that the said
‘ laws and ordinances should stand and continue
‘ in full force, till the same should be otherwise
‘ altered or made void by the king, his heirs, or
‘ successors, or by his majesty’s council in Eng-
‘ land, for Virginia, or by their own council,
‘ there resident; provided always, that the said
‘ alterations should stand with, and be in sub-
‘ stance consonant to, the laws of England, or the
‘ equity thereof.

‘ THAT all persons should kindly treat the sa-
‘ vage and heathen people in those parts, and use
‘ all proper means to draw them to the true ser-
‘ vice and knowledge of God, and that all just
‘ and charitable courses should be taken with such
‘ of them, as would conform themselves to any
‘ good and sociable traffic, thereby the sooner
‘ to bring them to the knowledge of God, and the
‘ obedience of the king, his heirs, and success-
‘ ors, under such severe pains and punishments,
‘ as should be inflicted by the respective presi-
‘ dents and councils of the several colonies.

‘ THAT as the said colonies should, from time
‘ to time, encrease in plantations, the king, his
‘ heirs, and successors, should ordain and give
‘ such order, and further instructions, laws, con-
‘ stitutions, and ordinances, as by them should be
‘ thought fit and convenient: Provided always,
‘ that they be such as might stand with, and be

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‘ consonant to the laws of England, or the equity thereof.

‘ AND lastly, that his majesty’s council in England for Virginia, should take such oath, as should be limited and appointed by the privy council; and each counsellor, resident in the colonies, should take such oath, as should be prescribed by the king’s council in England for Virginia: And that these, as well as all future orders and instructions of the king, his heirs or successors, should be transmitted over to the several councils, resident in the said colonies, under the legal seal of the king’s council in England for Virginia.’

INVESTED with those ample powers, and strong in the association of so many wealthy and influential characters, the southern colony was speedily organized. Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent merchant of London, whose interest was so considerable, that he had been successively appointed governor of the East-India company, and ambassador to Russia; was elected treasurer, “to have the chief management of their affairs, and to summon and preside in all meetings of the council and company in England.”

Two ships and a bark were soon provided, and the naval command, and the care of transporting the colony, were entrusted to captain Christopher Newport, “a *mariner of celebrity and experience on the American coast,”

* During the reign of Elizabeth, in 1592, he had conducted an expedition against the Spaniards, in the West-Indies, where, with three ships and a bark, he took several prizes, plundered and burnt some towns, and got a considerable booty.

SEVERAL sets of instructions were given by the company on this occasion....*To Newport, concerning the naval command and transportation of the colony....to †him, in conjunction with captain Bortholomew Gosnold, and captain John Ratcliffe...respecting the form and administration of the government. These last being the most important, were close sealed, and accompanied with orders, that they were not to be opened for twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia.

To these were added, by way of advice, ‡instructions from his majesty, of a general nature; containing however, one or two strange particulars, concerning a communication by some river or lake, between Virginia and the Indian or South sea.

THESE orders and instructions being enclosed in a sealed box, the little squadron sailed from Blackwall. They proceeded in the old route by the Canaries, where they watered. During their stay at those islands, violent dissensions arose among the adventurers, proceeding from envy, that passion, to which every great enterprize is subject. Symptoms of this spirit had made their appearance before the ships had cleared the English coast: But the prudence of some individuals, who had at heart the success of the expedition; and the labors attendant on a voyage by sea did not permit them to gain maturity. Disengagement from active pursuits, is the season for mutiny; and the comparative leisure which

1606, 19th
December.

* MS. Penes me....See general appendix, vol. IV.

† MS. Ibidem.

‡ Ibidem.

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they enjoyed during their stay at the Canaries, gave full effect to the play of this malignant *passion.

THE reputation of captain Smith, and the superior ascendance of his genius, had made him obnoxious to the chief adventurers. His manners, untinctured by pride, and improved by a knowledge of the world, had gained him the affections of a great majority of the colonists, whilst it diminished by comparison the influence of his colleagues ; and this effect, the natural consequence of their different characters and manners, their envy and apprehensions wrought into an accusation of treason against him. He was arrested on the absurd charge of an intention to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia ; and kept in close confinement during the remainder of the voyage.

26th April,
1607.

HAVING touched, according to custom, at the Caribbees, where they stopped some time for the purposes of trade and refreshment ; they made the entrance of the great bay of Chesapeake, on the twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand six hundred and seven.

Edward M.
Wingfield,
president.

THE box which contained the instructions, being now opened, it was found, that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Martín, John Ratcliffe, and George Kendall, were appointed counsellors ; who, being duly sworn, elected Wingfield their president ; and a declaration was enter-

* For they began to fall into such factions and discords, as would have ruined the whole voyage, had not Mr. Hunt, their preacher, by his prudent conduct, and pious exhortations, allayed their fury and resentment.

ed on their minutes, setting down at large, the reasons, why John Smith was not admitted as one of the council.

IN the early historians, there is mention made of another officer, who is variously called the cape merchant or treasurer for the colony in Virginia, and on inspecting the charter, it will be seen, that provision is made for such an officer, and his duties are enumerated; but not with sufficient clearness to enable us to decide, whether he derived his authority from the company in London, or was appointed by the council in Virginia. *Thomas Studley was the first person appointed to this office.

THE southern point or the bay was called Cape †Henry, and the northern Cape Charles, in honor of the sons of king James. The first great river they discovered, called by the natives Powhatan, received the name of their sovereign; and the northern point of its junction with the Chesapeake, was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and safe anchorage it afforded.

EVERY object which struck their senses, as they sailed up the Chesapeake, was well calculated to awaken hope in the minds of the adventurers. They were almost enclosed in one of the most spacious bays in the world; whilst the rich

* Stith, p. 46....who gives the names of several other respectable men, that came to Virginia at this first adventure; among the rest, a Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland.

† A striking instance of Indian courage is related by Stith to have taken place at this cape:

“Thirty men went ashore at Cape Henry to recreate and refresh themselves; but they were suddenly assaulted by five savages, who wounded two of them very dangerously.

Stith's Virg. p. 45.

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verdure, with which a genial and early spring had clad the forest, ascending from the edge of the shore to the summits of the hills, presented a prospect, at once regular and magnificent.

It was a sort of vast amphitheatre, the limits of which were the horizon ; and when to the real beauty of the landscape, be added the ardent spirit of adventure, which delights in the marvellous, and kindles and dilates itself by the enthusiasm of fancy ; there is little cause for our surprise at the glowing descriptions of the first settlers, who represented it as a kind of earthly paradise or *Elysium*.*

WHILST engaged in seeking a fit place for the first settlement, they met five of the natives, who invited them to their town, *Kecoughtan*, or *Kichotan*, where *Hampton* now stands. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and ‘ regaled with tobacco and a † dance.’ In return, they presented the natives beads and other trinkets. As they proceeded up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. ‡ Their

* They found a country, which, according to their own description, might claim prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world, for large and majestic navigable rivers, for beautiful mountains, hills, plains, vallies, rivulets, and brooks, gurgling down, and running most pleasantly into a fair bay, encompassed on all sides, except at the mouth, with fruitful and delightful lands.

In the bay and rivers were many islands, both great and small ; some woody, but most of them low and uninhabitable : So that heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better, to frame a place for man’s commodious and delightful habitation, were it fully cultivated, and inhabited by industrious people.

Smith.

† *Smith.*

‡ *Smith’s Virg.*

chief Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrows, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming : They made signs of peace, and were received in a friendly manner. On the thirteenth of May, they landed on a peninsula, which, for the convenient anchorage, and security it afforded, *was adjudged to be the best fitted for a settlement.

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Edward M.
Wingfield,
president.
May 13.

HERE, also, they were hospitably received by the natives, whose chief, Paspaha, being informed of their intentions, offered them as much land as they wanted, and sent them a deer for their entertainment.

To this peninsula, they gave the name of James Town ; and the adventurers, animated by hope, and feeling the necessity of exertion, were busily engaged in constructing a place of defence against any sudden incursion of the Indians, and in clearing ground for tents and the erection of huts.

SMITH was released from confinement ; but the charge of treason was yet suspended over his head : He had loudly demanded a trial ; in the lofty tone of indignant feeling, he had repeatedly urged his innocence, and the malice of his persecutors ; but they were afraid to trust the decision to a jury. Had their charter left the cognizance of this offence to the council, as was the case in all charges, which did not †affect life or limb ; they had perhaps, found no difficulty in determining this

* *Belknap's Biog. Life of Smith*, 255—*Stith*.

† *Belknap's Biog.—Smith's Virg.*

‡ See charter, No. 2.

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question: A voluntary acknowledgment of his innocence, would be a confession of their own injustice and persecution. Thus circumstanced, they adopted a middle course, not chusing to acquit, and not daring to prosecute.

THIS forbearance, they pretended, arose from humanity and pity to the accused, whom, altho' guilty, they were desirous of shielding against the dreadful penalties denounced by the laws against his offence; in the hope too, as they alledged, that he would reform: But those pretexts were too flimsy to impose on the company.... The malice and injustice of his enemies were visible to all; and Smith himself, who they vainly hoped, would sue to them for pardon, treated their overtures and pretended pity with scorn and *defiance.

MEANWHILE his regard for the public welfare, and a sense of common danger, would not permit him to remain idle; and his talents and experience were conceived to be too important, at a juncture like the present, to admit a refusal of his services.

CAPTAIN Newport, with Smith and twenty men, explored the river as high as the falls. In this expedition, they visited Powhatan, the principal chief or emperor of the country. His town, pleasantly situated on a hill, consisted of twelve houses, in front of which were three islets, a little below the spot where Richmond now †stands.

IT is said, that at this interview, some of the Indians expressed their apprehensions of the En-

* *Stith.*

† This place I judge to be either Mrs. Mayo's or Marring's plantation, and it was the principal seat, by inheritance, of Powhatan, emperor of the country.

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lish, and their opinion in favor of immediate hostility ; but that their discontent was silenced by the authority of the emperor. " Why," said he, " should we be offended by the coming of those strangers ; they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force ; they want only a little ground, which we can spare."

BUT these liberal sentiments were belied by the future conduct of this chieftain, who, according to the maxims of this people, that " stratagem is to be preferred to force," had acquired by habit, the talent, in an astonishing degree, of concealing his sentiments.

THIS prince, had grown old in the cares and hazards of battle ; and was now reposing, after his toils, in the bosom of peace, and the arms of victory, when a race of men, differing in their dress, complexion, and arms, made their appearance in his country ; and it is thought, that even at the first interview, and even whilst he addressed to them the accents of peace and friendship, he was planning their destruction.

CAPTAIN Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he received with seeming gratitude.

THE kind reception they every where received, lulled the English into full security ; whilst the sleepless jealousy of the president, and his apprehensions of conspiracy, by *locking up the arms, and discountenancing martial exercises, invited the attack of the subtle and vigilant savage.

Edward Maria Wingfield.

DURING the absence of Newport and Smith, James Town was attacked by the Indians in force : They found the English completely defenceless, without arms, engaged in their daily employment,

* *Stith*, 46.

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III.Edward M.
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and apprehending nothing less than violence... The assault commenced every where at the same moment, and the colony was saved from utter extermination, only by an incident, which a religious man would be inclined to consider providential. A *cross-bar shot from one of the ships, fortunately cut a branch from a tree, which fell amongst them, by which they were so terrified, that they fled in all directions. One boy on the side of the English was killed, and seventeen of the company †wounded.

AFTER this, the president found it necessary to withdraw his caution and vigilance from mutiny, which existed only in his fears, and direct them against a cunning and indefatigable enemy, whose surprize scarce any watchfulness could guard against, and whose retreat no activity could cut ‡off. The fort constructed by Kendall, was palisadoed and mounted with five pieces of cannon ; and the men were daily exercised in the use of ‡arms.

CAPTAIN Newport, being now about to return with the ships, it became necessary to adopt some determination in the case of Smith. His enemies still pretended reluctance to push matters to extremities against him ; but he boldly demanded a trial, and it was no longer in their power to refuse it.

* *Stith*, 46.

† *Ibidem*.

‡ For many and sudden were the assaults and ambuscades of the Indians, while they, by the nimbleness of their heels, escaped.

Stith, p. 46—47.

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AFTER a fair hearing, he was honorably acquitted of the charges against him : Whilst the malice of his enemies, (more especially of president Wingfield) was made so manifest by the confession of their own *creatures, whom they had suborned, that damages to the amount of two hundred pounds, were awarded Smith, to be levied on the goods and chattels of the president.... Smith would take nothing for himself on this occasion, but generously presented the whole of what had been recovered, for the use of the company.

AFTER this, Smith was permitted to take his seat in the council, and on the following Sunday, they took the †communion together, as a bond of future peace and harmony.

THE Indians voluntarily sued for peace, and on the twenty-second of June, Newport sailed for England, leaving behind him ‡one hundred and four persons, miserably provided with provisions.

WHILST the ships remained, the colonists were able to barter with the sailors for bread, which, added to each man's allowance, enabled them to live with some comfort ; but now this resource

* Insisting, therefore, on his trial, the persons suborned to accuse him, accused their suborners.

Stith.

† Soon after their heat and animosities were appeased, by the good doctrines and exhortations of Mr. Hunt, a clergyman, who next day procured Smith to be admitted of the council, and the next day they received the communion, in confirmation of their peace and concord.

Smith—Stith.

‡ *Belknap*—Stith says one hundred.

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being dried up by Newport's departure, sickness, arising from food at once scanty and unwholesome, and from continual labor in the heat of the sun, spread its destructive ravages, amongst them. One month from the departure of Newport, fifty had died, amongst whom was *Gosnold. The survivors were divided into three watches, and subsisted on crabs and sturgeon till †September.

THE president, during this season of sickness and famine, feasted sumptuously. Holding, in virtue of his office, the keys of the public stores, he had embezzled the provisions and property belonging to the company, and had projected an escape to England with Kendall, who had been the accessory of his robberies, and a sharer in the †spoil; but being detected, the indignation of the company was raised so high against him, that nothing short of his ‖deposal could satisfy them, and the expulsion of his accomplice Kendall, from the council.

THE council, originally composed of seven members, was now reduced to ¶three : For, ow-

* In an account of the first settlement of Virginia, written by George Percy, I find, (says Belknap) the following note :

The twenty-second of August died, captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our council. He was honorably buried, having all the ordnance in the fort shot off, with many vollies of small arms. After his death, the council could hardly agree.

Purchas, IV. 1690.

† *Smith.*

‡ *Ibidem,*

‖ *Ibidem, p. 14....Stith, p. 48.*

¶ Newport was gone, Gosnold dead, and Wingfield and Kendall in disgrace.

ing to what causes we do not learn, they had neglected to exercise the power vested in them by the charter, of appointing to the vacant seats. An election was notwithstanding had for president, and John Ratcliffe was chosen.

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John Ratcliffe, president.

ALTHOUGH there is nothing explicitly related of this election, in any of the histories of Virginia, there are circumstances, which induce a belief, that it was the result of some agreement between Ratcliffe, Martin, and Smith; for we find the whole weight of administration, and the entire direction of public affairs devolving on Smith, by the consent of his colleagues. Possibly the appointment of Ratcliffe, whose incapacity is frankly *acknowledged by himself, was intended only to operate as a check on the ardent and ambitious temper of Smith.

THIS administration commenced with the building of James-Town, which, by the exertions of Smith, who set himself, the example of labor and industry, soon afforded comfortable accommodations to the company. But a sufficient supply of provisions was the main object: For winter was now approaching, and the Indians who enjoy the present without reflection, and have no providence for the future, would in a few days want the provisions, which, during the season of plenty, they had thoughtlessly disposed of for a few trinkets.

WITH five men, Smith proceeded in a shallop to Kickotan, where, in a conflict with the Indians, who † tauntingly treated his request for a supply of

* *Stith.*

† They scorned them at first as poor famished creatures,

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provisions, having taken their god or idol *Okec, he procured a boat load of corn for its ransom: In his return, he discovered the town and country of the †Warrasqueakes.

SMITH made several excursions also by land, and discovered the people of Chickahominy.

DURING his absence in one of those expeditions, Wingfield and Kendall, despising the feebleness of †Ratliffe, conspired with several others, to seize the bark, which Smith had fitted out for trade, and escape with her to England: But the unexpected return of Smith at the moment when the plot was ripe for execution, disconcerted the conspirators, and Kendall was slain after a slight resistance.

SHORTLY after, an attempt of the same nature was made by Ratcliffe and captain Archer, which was also defeated by his vigilance and sagacity.

THE approach of winter, by introducing plenty, for the present, put a stop to dissensions and discontent: The rivers were covered with innumerable swarms of wildfowl, while the woods abounded with venison and wild turkies. But the restless activity of Smith, and a desire to silence the murmurs of some, who pretended he had not used sufficient industry in exploring the head of

and would offer, in derision, a handful of corn, or piece of bread, for their swords, musquets, or clothes.

Stith, p. 48,

* OKEE QUIOCCOS, or KIWASSA.

Beverley's Virg.

This was an idol, made of skins, stuffed with moss, all painted, and hung with chains and copper.

Stith....Smith.

† *Stith's Virg, p. 43.*

Chickahominy, would not permit him to remain idle during the season of plenty ; and attended by a small number, he proceeded once more in a barge up that river, as far as the stream was uninterrupted. Having left the barge in a bay, out of the reach of the Indians, with positive orders, that on no account, any of the crew should leave her, he went still higher up in a canoe, accompanied by two English and two *Indians. But he was scarcely out of sight, when the boats crew, impatient of restraint, and slighting the orders of their superior, went ashore at the very spot, where a large body of Indians, headed by Opechancanough brother to Powhatan, were in †ambush.

THE Indians having surprised one of them, and extorted from him information respecting the views and route of his commander, put him to death in a cruel manner, and pursued Smith with all their forces.

OPECHANCANOUGH, with his Indians, having ascended the river twenty miles, surprized the two English ‡asleep at a fire in the woods, and slew them with their arrows, and afterwards having tracked Smith himself, they surrounded him, and wounded him with an arrow.

IN this exigence, cut off from all human succour, his presence of mind did not desert him. As a shield against the enemies' arrows, he tied his Indian guide to his left arm, whilst, with his mus-

* *Smith.*

† *Smith....Stith,*

‡ *Ibidem,*

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quest, he dispatched three of the most forward of his assailants.

IN this manner he slowly retreated towards the canoe, the Indians keeping at a distance, astonished at his bravery, and not daring to attack him ; but whilst his whole attention was engaged by the enemy, he sank all at once in a miry part of the swamp, from which he was unable to extricate himself. Here, he remained for a considerable time, unmolested by the Indians ; but the cold having benumbed his limbs, he was incapable of farther exertions : He threw down his arms, and made signs to them, that he had surrendered.... They took him to the fire, where the two English had been slain, and having chafed his frozen limbs, he was able in a short time to move, and to exercise his mind in plans to ward off the death, which awaited *him.

HE presented his ivory compass and dial to Opechancanough, who wondered exceedingly at the vibrations of the needle, and the fly, which he could not touch. Smith adroitly taking advantage of his mute wonder, expatiated by signs, and partly by a little of their language, which he had learned, on the uses of the instrument ; attempting to explain to them the motions of the heavenly bodies.

THE surprize and attention excited by his discourse and gestures, had for a time the effect he intended : But reflection is not one of the pro-

* This winter was extremely cold in Virginia, and it was likewise remarkable for an extraordinary frost in Europe.

Stith.

This winter is noticed in the life of Gorges, to have been dreadfully severe in New-England.

Belknap's Life Sir F. Gorges, vol. I. p. 352....Stith.

erties of the savage state ; their wonder soon subsided, he was bound to a tree, and they prepared to shoot him to death with their arrows. Opechancanough holding up the compass, they all laid down their arms, and he was led in a sort of triumphal procession to *Orapaxe.

THEY marched in Indian file, Opechancanough being posted in the centre, with the English swords and musquets borne before him : The prisoner followed, held by three savages, on either side of whom, marched a file of six Indians, with their arrows †notched.

WHEN they reached the town, the women and children came in crouds to see them, forming themselves in a circle round the king, singing and dancing ; whilst the warriors, striking up their war song, exhibited in their tones and gestures, the representation of ‡battle. After those cere-

* Or Orapakes....This was a hunting town and seat, lying on the upper part of Chickahominy swamp, on the north side, belonging to, and much frequented by Powhatan, and the imperial family, on account of the abundance of game it afforded.

Smith.

† *Smith, 44.*

‡ “ Drawing themselves all in file, the king in the midst had all their pieces and swords borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great savages, holding fast by each arm ; and on each side, six went in file with their arrows notched ; but arriving at the town, (which was but thirty or forty hunting houses made of mats, which they remove as often as they pleased, as we do our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the soldiers first all in the file, performed the form of a *bissom* as well as could be ; and on each flank, officers as serjeants to see them keep their order.

“ A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast

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monies had ended, Smith was conducted to a large log-house, guarded by forty chosen *Indians.

A SUPPLY of †bread and venison so abundant was now laid before him, that he apprehended it was their intention to make him fat for food against some festival.

BUT it was in agitation at this time, in the great council of the Indians, to attempt a surprize of the settlement at James-Town, by means of Smith's guidance : And in order to engage his assent to the project, a large tract of territory, with any number of women he should demand, were offered as the reward of this ‡service. But Smith, to divert them from this project, magnified the formidable means of defence possessed by the En-

themselves in a ring, dancing in such several postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches ; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club, on his arm a fox or an otter's skin, or some such matter for his vambrace ; their heads and shoulders painted red with oil and puccoons mingled together, which scarlet like color made an exceeding handsome shew ; his bow in his hand, and the skin of a bird, with the wings abroad, dried, tied on his head ; a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing to the tails of their snakes, tied to it, or some such like toy. All this while, Smith and the king stood in the midst, guarded as before is said, and after three dances, they all departed.

Smith, p. 43.

* An instance of Indian gratitude is thus related by Stith :
“ One of them in return for some beads and toys, which Smith had given him at his first arrival, brought him his gown, which was of singular service to him, and a seasonable defence against the excessive coldness of the season.”

Stith, p. 52.

† *Smith, 48....Stith, 51.*

‡ *Ibidem....Ibidem.*

English, arising from their guns and cannon, and the terrific apparatus of mines, by whose explosion, whole armies at once might be launched into the air. The Indians listened to his description with deep impressions of awe and astonishment.

To convince them that his account was not exaggerated, he wrote on a leaf torn from his pocket book, an inventory of what he wanted ; with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers, who delivered the letter.

THE report of these messengers confirmed his information, and the whole people were astonished at the prophetic properties of 'the speaking *leaf.' Having failed in this project, the Indians once more conducted him thro' the country in triumph.

THE route of this singular procession is thus described by Stith :

"And first, they carried him to those that dwelt on Youghtanund, or as it is now called Pamunkey river: For the main river, which is since named York river, was then called Pamunkey, altho' the country of Pamunkey, over which Opechancanough was king, lay in the fork of the river, and his chief seat was nearly where the Pamunkey town now is. From the Youghtanunds, they led him to the Mattaponies, the Piankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds on Rappahannock, and the Nominies, on Patowmac river: And having passed him over all those rivers, they brought him back thro' several other nations, to Opechancanough's habitation at Pamunkey, where, with frightful howlings, and many strange and hellish ceremonies, they †conjured him three days to know, as they

* *Smith.*

† The following account of this conjuration is from Smith :

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told, whether he intended them well or ill. After this, they brought him a bag of gun-powder, which they judged to be a grain springing out of

“ Early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side and on the other : On the one, they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house ; and presently there came skipping in, a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil, and many snakes and weazel skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together, so as they met in the crown of his head, like a tossil, and round about the tossil, was a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covering his face ;... with a hellish voice, and a rattle in his hand, with most strange gestures and postures, he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meal ; which done, three much such like devils came rushing in with the like antic tricks, painted half black, half red ; but all their eyes were painted white, and some great strokes, like mustachoes, along their cheeks. Round about him, these fiends danced a pretty while ; and then came in three more, as ugly as the rest, with red eyes, and white strokes over their black faces : At last they all sat down right against him, three of them on one hand of the chief priest, and three on the other : Then all of them with their rattles began a song ; which ended, the chief priest laid down five wheat corns ; then straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veins swelled, he began a short oration : At the conclusion, they all gave a short groan, and then laid down three grains more ; after that, began their song again, and then another oration, ever laying down so many corns as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they took a bunch of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion ; and at the end of every song and oration, they laid down a stick betwixt the divisions of corn. Till night, neither he nor they did eat or drink, and then they feasted merrily with the provisions they could make. Three days they used this ceremony, the meaning whereof, they told him, was to know, if he intended them well or no. The circle of meal signified their country, the circles of corn, the bounds of the sea, and the sticks his country, they imagined the world to be flat and round like a trencher, and they in the midst.”

the earth, as other grains did, and therefore they carefully preserved it, intending to plant it the next spring, as they did their corn. And then he was invited and feasted in a sumptuous manner, by Opitchapan, second brother to Powhatan, and next heir to all his dominions. But here, as in all other places, none would touch a morsel with him ; although they would feast very merrily on what he left.

AFTER making the tour of almost all the tribes, who acknowledged the authority of Powhatan, Smith was at length brought into the presence of the emperor, at Werowocomoco.

WEROWOCOMOCO lay on the north side of York river, in Gloucester county, nearly opposite to the mouth of Queen's creek, about twenty five miles below the fork of the river. It was at that time Powhatan's principal place of residence ; altho' afterwards, not admiring the neighbourhood of the English, he retired to Orapakes."

HERE the same ceremonies were repeated and the same attention was paid to the comfort and accommodation of the prisoner. But he rightly considered that no conclusion ought to be drawn in his favor from those symptoms, nor from the past forbearance of this people : On the contrary, he concluded, he had been spared merely to gratify the court by the pageant of a triumph, and to give solemnity to his sentence, by having it pronounced by the mouth of their monarch.

THIS celebrated *chieftain, who, by his valor

* His proper name was Wahunsanacock, and he had that of Powhatan from the town so called, near the falls of James river, which was the chief seat and metropolis of his hereditary dominions ; and he seems to have removed to Wero-

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and address, had *reduced under his power, the numerous tribes, who inhabit the spacious country between James river, from its mouth to the falls; and the falls of all the great rivers, over Potowmac, even to Patuxen, in Maryland; and whose name struck terror to the nations bordering on the lakes; was at this time about sixty years old, of a marked and penetrating *countenance and majestic deportment. On the entrance of Smith, he was dressed in a cloak made of the skins of the racoon, and was elevated on a wooden throne, somewhat in shape resembling a bedstead, before a large fire. On either hand of the chief, sat two young girls, his daughters: His counsellors, adorned with shells and feathers, were ranged on each side of the house, with an equal number of women standing behind †them. On Smith's entrance, the attendants of Powhatan shouted. The ||queen of Appamattox was appointed to bring him water to wash, whilst another dried his hands with a bunch of feathers.

wocomoco for convenience, after he had extended his conquests to the north.

Stith, 53.

* For his hereditary countries were only Powhatan and Arrahattucks, to which may be added Werowocomoco and Chiskiack, between Williamsburg and York.

Stith, p. 53.

† Powhatan himself was a tall well proportioned man, of a sour aspect, and of a strong and hardy constitution of body.

Stith, p. 53.

‡ *Smith 49, || Ibidem.*

CHAP.
III.Presidency
of Ratcliffe,
1607.

A CONSULTATION of the emperor and his council having taken place, it was adjudged expedient to put Smith to death, as a man, whose superior courage and genius made him peculiarly dangerous to the safety of the Indians. The decision being made known to the attendants of the emperor, preparations immediately commenced for carrying it into execution, by means as simple and summary as the nature of the trial.

Two large stones were brought in, and placed at the feet of the emperor; and on them was laid the head of the prisoner: Next a large club was brought in, with which Powhatan, for whom, out of respect, was reserved this honor, prepared to crush the head of his captive. The assembly looked on with sensations of *awe, probably not unmixed with pity for the fate of an enemy, whose bravery had commanded their admiration; and in whose misfortunes, their hatred was possibly forgotten.

THE fatal club was uplifted: The breasts of the company already by anticipation, felt the dreadful crash, which was to bereave the wretched victim of life; when the young and beautiful Pocahontas, the beloved daughter of the emperor, with a shriek of terror and agony, threw herself on the †body of Smith. Her hair was loose, and her eyes streaming with tears, while her whole manner bespoke the deep distress and agony of her bosom.

* None of the historians make mention of any attempt of Powhatan's counsellors or warriors to defeat the wishes of Pocahontas.

† But Pocahontas, the king's darling daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head into her arms, and leaned her own upon it, to save his life.

Stith, p. 56.

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She cast a beseeching look at her furious and astonished father, deprecating his wrath, and imploring his pity and the life of his prisoner, with all the eloquence of mute, but impassioned sorrow.

THE remainder of this scene is honorable to the character of Powhatan : It will remain a lasting monument, that tho' different principles of action, and the influence of custom, have given to the manners and opinions of this people, an appearance neither amiable nor virtuous, they still retain the noblest property of the human character, the touch of pity, and the feeling of humanity.

THE club of the emperor was still uplifted ; but pity had touched his bosom, and his eye was every moment losing its fierceness : He looked round to collect his fortitude, or perhaps to find an excuse for his weakness in the faces of his attendants : But every eye was suffused with the sweetly contagious softness. The generous savage no longer hesitated. The compassion of the rude state is neither ostentatious, nor dilatory ; nor does it insult its object, by the exaction of impossible *conditions ; Powhatan lifted his grateful and delighted daughter ; and the captive scarcely yet assured of safety, from the earth.

It appears, that a lively attachment to Smith, and sympathy for his sorrows, was not confined to the bosom of Pocahontas : Her brother Nantagus, who is represented to have possessed the greatest courage, added to the manliest figure, took an active concern in his situation, which he

* Whereupon Powhatan was persuaded to let him live, to make himself hatchets, and her, belts, beads, and copper.

sought to soften by his influence with his father, and his counsellors ; and by the soothing offices of sincere friendship.

BUT as the last act in this singular drama, which was to close with the release of Smith, and his return to James-Town, Powhatan, having previously disguised himself and two hundred Indians, in the most hideous manner, caused Smith to be taken to a house in the woods, and seated on a mat before the fire. The prisoner had not been long in this situation, when his ears were saluted by the most *doleful and soul-sinking sounds ; and shortly after, the emperor and the other masques suddenly appeared before him. Powhatan, without further ceremonies, assured Smith, that they were from that time friends, and that he might immediately return to James-Town. He told him to send him two †cannon and a grind-stone, in return for which, he promised to give him the country of Capahowsick, and love him as his son ‡Nantaquaus. Smith having made the necessary acknowledgments, departed with twelve guides, and arrived the next morning at James-Town, after a captivity of seven weeks.

THE guides being kindly treated, Smith shewed Rawhunt, the favorite servant of Powhatan, two demi-culverins and a grind-stone, which he told him they were at liberty to take to their master. Having || vainly attempted to lift the pieces,

* *Smith....Stith.*

† *Ibidem.*

‡ *Ibidem.*

|| *Ibidem.*

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III.Presidency
of Ratcliffe

Smith discharged them, loaded with stones, against the branches of a tree hung with icicles. The Indians were so terrified at the report, and at the crash of the shattered and falling ice and branches, that they fled : But being assured of their safety, by the messengers dispatched after them, they returned, and were sent back with various toys for Powhatan, his wives and *children.

THE return of Smith was once more at a most critical and favorable juncture ; for another conspiracy was on foot, and ripe for execution, to seize the bark, and abandon the colony.

THE conspirators had the boldness, even after his return, to talk of bringing him to trial, for the loss of the two †English, who had been shot to death by the army of Opechancanough ; but he disconcerted their movements, by a timely seizure of the chiefs ; while the favorable accounts of the riches and splendor of Powhatan's empire, and the friendly visits of Pocahontas, and her attendants, who frequently brought provisions to the fort, dispelled the fears of the discontented, and revived the hopes of a secure and prosperous establishment.

THE administration of Ratcliffe was remarka-

* *Smith.....Stith.*

† And next day several combined with the president to put him to death, by the levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, whom, they said, he had led to their end, and was consequently the author of their death.

Stith, p. 56.

‡ And Pocahontas, with her attendants, every once in four or five days, brought him so much provisions, as saved the lives of many.

Stith, p. 55.

ble for no other incident worthy of relation, except the arrival of Newport from England, with a supply of provisions, and an hundred and twenty adventurers, besides various presents for Powhatan.

NEWPORT, who is represented by Smith to be "an empty, idle, interested man, very fearful and suspicious in times of danger and difficulty; but a very great and important person in his own talk and conceit," was resolved to be the bearer himself of the presents to Powhatan.

NOTWITHSTANDING his ambition of eclipsing Smith in the presence of Powhatan, by the number and appearance of his retinue, and the richness of his presents, he could not conceal his apprehensions of the treachery of the Indians. But Smith, with twenty men, having gone before, to apprise the emperor of the intended visit and its object, he at length consented to leave his boat, and join the advanced guard at Werowocomoco.

POWHDATAN, on this occasion, † "behaved himself with such loftiness and state, and yet with so much discretion, that they could not forbear admiring his natural parts and ‡ understanding. As if by some instinct he had been apprized of the character of Newport, he told him, "that he esteemed him a great Werowance, as well as himself; that it was not agreeable to their dignity to trade

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III.

Presidency
of Ratcliffe,
1607.

Newport
goes with
presents to
Powhatan.

State of
Powhatan.

* *Stith*, p. 58.

† He sat on a bed of mats, with a pillow of leather, embroidered with pearl and white beads; and was clothed with a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle.

Stith, p. 58.

‡ *Stith*....*Smith*.

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III.Presidency
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in that peddling manner, for trifles, and that therefore, if he would lay down all his commodities together, he would chuse what he liked, and give him their value." Smith, who was their interpreter, and knew Powhatan's disposition, told the company, his intent was to cheat them.

Out-wits
Newport.

"BUT Newport, thinking to out-brave this stately barbarian in ostentation and greatness, and, by his bounty, to obtain from him whatever he pleased, accepted the condition ; and then Powhatan, having taken what he liked, valued his corn at such a rate, that they had not four bushels, for what they expected twenty *hogsheads."

Is himself
out-witted
by Smith.

THE consequence of Newport's weakness, had well nigh been a complete †failure in a supply of provisions, the main object of the visit : But Smith having glanced in the face of Powhatan, some blue beads, the value of which he magnified by an exaggerated account of their lustre and properties ; alledging that they were taught to imitate and reflect the rich and varying tints of the rainbow....the wily savage was deceived in his turn, and gave Smith his price for ornaments, which he was induced to believe were designed only, for the use and ornament of ‡kings and emperors.

ON this occasion, Newport presented a boy of the name of Savage to Powhatan, who in return gave him an Indian, called by the natives ‡Namontack, of a shrewd and penetrating judgment ; for the purpose, it is conjectured, of collecting every thing

* *Stith*, 58.

† *Smith*, 51.

‡ *Ibidem*.

|| *Ibidem*....*Stith*.

material for the emperor, concerning the arts, population, and strength of the English.

AFTER a mutual exchange of civilities, Newport departed for Pamunkey, the seat of Opechan-canough, where, having experienced a reception *equally stately and hospitable, he returned to James-Town, which a fire had entirely consumed in their absence.

THE presents brought by this arrival to Powhatan, served to impress that chief with an high idea of the English: But the free licence allowed to the crews of those vessels, to trade with the natives, was productive of a serious and lasting evil to the establishment, by lessening the value of those articles, and thereby rendering it more difficult to procure provisions in a season of scarcity. The president and Martin, not deterred by the example of Wingfield and Kendall, were not slow in encouraging this injudicious traffic; whilst, by the sale of the company's stores, they lived in ease and luxury. The return of Newport to England, after a †vain search of gold, which had fruitlessly

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Newport visits Pamunkey.

1608.

* *Smith....Stith*, 64.

† About this time also, there sprang up a very troublesome sect of gold finders, which was headed by captain Martin, and warmly embraced by Newport. There was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold; and notwithstanding captain Smith's warm and judicious representations, how absurd it was, to neglect other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a drunken ship with gilded dust; yet was he overruled, and her returns made in a parcel of glittering ore which is found in various parts of the country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be gold dust: And in her, they sent home Mr. Wingfield and captain Archer, to seek some better employment in England, for they had assumed many empty titles of offices here, as admirals, recor-

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III.J. Ratcliffe,
president,
1608.

employed the time and labors of the whole company, gave a temporary relief to this evil.

IN the vessel of Newport, departed Wingfield, and Archer his principal accomplice in the last conspiracy.

THE arrival of captain Nelson, who had sailed from England in company with Newport, but who had been driven by distress of weather to the West Indies, once more brought plenty to the colony.

Matthew
Scrivener.

By the last ships arrived, several men of respectability, amongst whom was Matthew Scrivener, who was named one of the council, and who immediately employed himself in forwarding the building of James-Town. But the active genius of Smith would not permit him to rest, whilst any thing remained to be done. Having accompanied Nelson as far as the Capes, on his return to Europe, he proceeded on an adventure of *discovery

ders, chronologers, justices of the peace, and of the courts of plea, with other such idle and insignificant pretensions.

Stith, p. 60.

* From Cape Henry, Smith visited the islands, called after him Smith's islands; thence to Russell's islands, now called Tanger's islands; coasted along Eastern Shore, till he reached the river Wighcocomoco, now called Pokomoke; departing, saw a high point of land, which he named Point Plover: Calls the shoals near a cluster of islands, Limbo, since called Watt's islands. Stood over again to Eastern Shore, and discovered a river called Cuscarawacock. On this river lived the nations of Sarapinah, Nause, Arseck, and Nantaquack, the best merchants and greater traders in those parts. They told the English of a great nation called Wasawomecks, in search of whom, Smith returned by Limbo, into the bay. Leaves the shallows of Eastern Shore, and falls in on the western side, above the mouth of Patuxen—Calls the first navigable river Bolus river, now Patapsco, in Maryland.

Summary of Smith's route.

CHAP.
III.

to the Chesapeake, and discovered the mouths of several great rivers. Surprized at the great breath of the Potowmac, and the pleasantness of its banks, he sailed up this river, where three or four thousands of the natives lay in ambush to cut him off. But a few musquets being discharged, the Indians were so frightened by the report, that they made peace, having confessed that they took up arms by the orders of Powhatan. In a small creek, called Quigough formed by the waters of the Potowmac, they saw a mine of antimony, which the Indians made use of to ornament themselves, and the faces of their idols. From thence he proceeded to the Rappahannock or Tappahannock, at the mouth of which river, having stuck with his sword a fish, called the stingray, which lay in the sedge, the animal struck him in the wrist with the thorn, which lay in its tail: The pain was for some time so violent, and the appearance of the wound so swoln and livid, that his life was despaired of. 1608.
The isle at the mouth of the river, in memory of this event, he called Stingray Island....From this place, they immediately made sail for James-Town, where they arrived on the twenty-first of July.

Returns to
James-
Town.

THE acknowledged incapacity of Ratcliffe added to his rapacity, the proofs of which were now numerous and notorious, made the colony clamorous for his deposal. We are not told how this event was brought about, or in what manner the election of Smith, which was the consequence of his deposal, was effected. Ratcliffe still held his seat in the council, as doubtless did his creature, Martin: There remained then only Smith and the new counsellor Scrivener; and it is difficult to believe, that the deposed president and

Deposal of
Ratcliffe.John Smith,
president.

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III.Matthew
Scrivener,
vice-presi-
dent.Nation of
the Tock-
woghs.

his creature would have given their suffrages to the author of their disgrace.

SMITH remained but three days at James-Town. Having appointed his friend Scrivener to preside in his absence, he proceeded to complete the discovery of the Chesapeake. Having passed by the mouths of several rivers, he fell in on the seventh, with seven canoes full of Wassawomecks, a powerful nation of Indians, inhabiting on some of the *lakes. They were at this time at war with the Tockwoghs. At first, these savages made a shew of hostility, but suffering themselves to be persuaded of the friendly disposition of the English, after a mutual exchange of presents, they departed.

THE barge next entered the river Tockwogh, where the †nation lived in a palisadoed town; as did their allies, the Susquahaanocks to whom they introduced the English; to guard against the surprize of the Wassawomecks, their fierce and mortal ‡enemies.

* And the original perhaps of those, at present known by the name of the Senecas, or Six Nations.

Stith, 67.

† Here they saw many hatchets, knives, and pieces of iron and brass, which they told them they had from the Susquahaanocks, a mighty nation, dwelling on the chief of the four branches at the head of the bay, two days journey above the falls of that river.

Stith, 67.

The Susquahaanocks knew nothing of Powhatan and his territories, but the name; and they informed the English, that their hatchets and other commodities, came originally from the French of Canada.

Stith, 69.

‡ *Smith.*

CHAP.
III.

Smith, pre-
sident, 1608

THE Susquahannocks are represented in the accounts of the early adventurers, to have been men of *gigantic stature. To this opinion, the romantic spirit of Smith did not a little contribute. Delighting in the marvellous, and inflamed with the extravagance of chivalry, he spurned mortal existencies, and resorted to his imagination for objects of terror and sublimity. The Susquahannocks have shared the fate of the Patagonians : Reason has levelled both to the standard of men.

MR. Stith, although he generally keeps up the gravity and severity of history, copies those fictions and appears to give them countenance, by the gravity of his description. In fact, Smith is the hero of his history of Virginia, and the *speciosa miracula* of the piece, are made to flow from

* And their language and attire were very suitable to their stature and appearance. For their language sounded deep and solemn, and hollow, like a voice in a vault. Their attire was the skins of bears and wolves, so cut, that the man's head went through the neck, and the ears of the bear were fastened on his shoulders, while the nose and teeth hung dangling down upon his breast. Behind, was another bear's face split, with a paw hanging at the nose. And their sleeves coming down to their elbows, were the necks of bears, with their arms going through the mouth, and paws hanging to the nose. One had the head of a wolf hanging to a chain, for a jewel ; and his tobacco pipe was three-quarters of a yard long, carved with a bird, a deer, and other devices at the great end, which was sufficient to beat out a man's brains. They measured the calf of the largest man's leg, and found it three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs were in proportion ; so that he seemed the stateliest and the most goodly personage they had ever beheld. His arrows were three quarters long, headed with splinters of a white chrystal, like stone, in the form of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and an half long. These he carried at his back, in a wolf's skin, for a quiver, with his bow in one hand, and his club in the other.

Stith,

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III.

Smith, president, 1608

his agency: But yet, it were unjust to deny to Mr. Stith considerable merit as an historian; and the rare union of ardor and patience in Smith, his active industry, and his almost instinctive penetration cannot fail of striking the most inattentive observer.

THE Susquahaanocks had iron hatchets, and other instruments of iron, which, according to their own account, were procured from the French in *Canada, and they knew nothing of Powhatan, but his †name.

THESE Indians, as well as those of Patuxen and Potowmac, were urgent with Smith to revenge them on the Wassawomecks; which he promised to do, but was prevented by the caution or envy of the council. From thence he sailed up the Rappahannock, discovering the several nations that dwell on its banks; some of which were gained by force, and others by kindness.

Mannahocks, and Manakins.

AT the head of the falls, lived the ‡four nations of the Mannahocks, who, with the Manakins inhabiting the space between the falls of James river and the mountains, formed a confederacy against Powhatan.

ON their return, they discovered the Nansamonds and Chesapeaks; and having their boat

* Discovered by Cartier, in 1534....first effectual settlement by de Monts, in 1605.

† *Smith.*

‡ These Mannahocks, neighbors and allies of the Manakins, lived on small streams, in a hilly country. These, with the Manakins, formed the league or confederacy of the upland and mountain Indians, against the power and tyranny of Powhatan.

Stith.

loaded with corn, they arrived at James-Town, on the seventh of September, having sailed, according to their calculation, near three thousand miles in an open boat.

THE absence of Smith had, as *usual, been made use of by the discontented, as the season for sedition in the colony; but the activity of Scrivener, by seizing the late president, who was the head of the conspiracy, restored order; while his industry was equally successful, in gathering the corn, the †first which the colony had been able to raise, independent of the Indians.

THIS year was remarkable for two incidents, but remotely connected with the history of this state; but which deserve notice, inasmuch as they connect the links in the chain of maritime adventure and discovery. An expedition fitted out by the second or northern colony, for the discovery of New England, returned in the extremest misery to Europe, after ‡vainly attempting a settlement: And captain Henry Hudson having discovered New-York, and the river, which bears his name, sold them to the Dutch; hopeless, perhaps, of a ||reward adequate to his merits from his own country, which appeared to be herself wholly occupied in similar concerns. However this stands, the circumstance

CHAP.
III.

Smith, president, 1608
7th September.

First corn gathered by the colonists

† *Stith.*

‡ *Ibidem.*

‡ This colony sailed from Plymouth in two ships, May 31st, 1607, and having fallen in with the island of Monahigon, August 11, landed at the mouth of Kennebeck river, to which they gave the name of Fort St. George.

|| *Smith's Hist. New-York.*

CHAP.
III.

Smith, pre-
sident, 1608

of Hudson's birth-place, was conceived *sufficient ground for defeating the title of the Dutch. It is difficult to keep down our indignation at reading the absurd and impudent pretensions of kings. Not content with grinding at home their miserable subjects by the weight of taxes ; and depressing the genius of man by neglect and disqualifications ; they pursue the wretched victim of their tyranny, to whatever part of the earth his despair or his enterprize may transport him ; seizing, with the voracity of vultures on the fruits of his invention.

Smith re-e-
lected pre-
sident.

ON the tenth of September, Smith was re-elected †president, and works of public utility were carried on at James-Town, with spirit and activity. The boats prepared for trade with the Indians were dispatched under the command of lieutenant Percy : While the health and discipline of the company were preserved by martial exercises, which were attended with the additional advantage of impressing the Indians, who often attended, with an awful idea of the power of the *white men*.

Newport ar-
rives.

SUCH was the state of things, when captain Newport arrived from England, bringing back with him lieutenant Percy and the boats, which he had met on their passage down the river.

THIS man, who appears to have entertained a sufficient opinion of his own importance, and an envy of the superior merits and influence of Smith, had

* It was alledged, moreover, that it belonged, by a previous right to the crown of England, and was granted by charter to the company of Virginia.

The place lay within the claim of both French and English. Acadia extending from latitude 40 to 48, and Virginia from 34° to 45°.

† *Smith*.

been able to prevail on the company in London, to grant a special commission, whereby he was authorised to act, in certain cases independent of the council. In this commission, three objects were laid down as essential; without the attainment of which, he was not to return....“a lump of gold, the discovery of the South Sea, or one of the lost company of Sir Walter Raleigh.”.... These conditions were inserted at his express desire, from an apprehension that they would be overruled by Smith. He brought at the same time, splendid presents for Powhatan, with two additional members for the council. In this ship also arrived, Mrs. Forrest, and Anne Burras her maid, the first white women which had been seen in Virginia.

SMITH, notwithstanding his *dislike to those strange and injudicious projects, undertook to carry the message of Newport to Powhatan. He had labored in council by all the energies of his mind, to prevent their execution, but was overruled by the majority; and he felt it his duty as a good citizen, now that they were actually determined on, to afford all the aid of his genius and experience to their accomplishment, and with only four attendants, he proceeded to Werowocomoco.

POWHATAN was not at home when he arrived; but messengers were immediately dispatched to hasten his return. Meanwhile Pocahontas enter-

* Newport represented “Smith’s opposition as a mere device to hinder his journey, that he might himself effect the discovery; and he said his cruelty to the Indians might well be a means to hinder these designs, and make them seek revenge.”

CHAP.
III.

Smith deli-
vers New-
port's mes-
sage.

Powhatan's
answer.

tained him with a feast and *dance in the Indian fashion.

On the return of Powhatan, Smith delivered to him the message of Newport; inviting him, at the same time, to repair to James-Town, for the purpose of receiving the presents: "If," replied the haughty savage, "your king has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land. Newport ought to come to me, and not I go to the fort: This bait is too foolish to be taken. As for the Manakins, against whom he promises me assistance, I can revenge my own wrongs; and

* In a fair plain field, they made a fire, before which he sat down upon a mat, when suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shrieking, that the English betook themselves to their arms, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan, with all his power, was coming to surprize them.

But presently Pocahontas came, willing for him to kill her, if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the captain that there was no such matter.

Then presently they were presented with this antic; thirty young women came naked out of the woods, only covered behind and before, with a few green leaves, their bodies painted all over, some of one color, some of another, but all differing; their leader had a fair pair of bucks horns on her head, an otter's skin at her girdle, another at her arms, a quiver of arrows at her back, and a bow and arrows in her hand.

The next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a potstick; all of them being horned alike: The rest were all set out with their several devices. These fiends, with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety; oft falling into their infernal positions, and then solemnly betaking themselves to sing and dance: Having spent an hour in this masquerade, as they entered, in like manner they departed.

Smith.

for any *salt waters beyond the mountains, all the relations you have received from my people on this head are false." Then with a stick, he described on the sand the country alluded †to.

WITH this answer, Smith returned ; and next day Newport set out with a guard of fifty men to Werowocomoco. Among the presents sent to Powhatan, was a crown, the use and intent of which, it was difficult to make him ‡comprehend. In vain did Newport expatiate on the sacred nature of this present, which entitled the wearer to greatness and homage among men, and the favor of the gods : In vain he urged the necessity of his kneeling in token of fealty and homage : In vain did his own man Namontack, who accompanied Newport, assure him, that the present, so far from doing him an injury, would augment his reputation and glory : All that could be gained from him, by solicitation or remonstrance, was his consent to wear the scarlet cloak ; but he could not be moved from his dislike to the remainder of the ceremonial. The venerable monarch, who had been accustomed to roam at large over the domain of nature, free as the waters in his own streams, or the air on his mountains, stood firm and erect. The splendid bauble glittered in his sight, the

* That he had brought from the king of England, a royal present, and wished to see him at James-Town, that he might deliver it to him ; promising to assist in prosecuting his revenge against the Manakins, whose country they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains.

Bellknaf's Amer. Biog. vol. I. p. 286.

† *Smith....Stith.*

‡ *Stith.*

CHAP.
III.Smith, pre-
sident.

price of his acquiescence ; but the native majesty of his mind, soared above the tinsel emblem of royal greatness.

THE difficulty of the ceremony was at length gotten over : Newport pretended to have seen a slight inclination of his head, and the crown was placed on it.

AT this instant, according to a signal, the boats fired a volley of small arms, the noise of which was so sudden and unexpected, that the emperor started up, and looked round for his arms and attendants, supposing that the English had formed a design to surprize him in the midst of his *glo-ry.

BUT being soon assured of his safety, he gave his old †mockasons and mantle to Newport in return for his presents ; and having vainly attempted to dissuade him from his projected expedition to the country of the Manakins, he dismissed him with some slight compliments, and a small supply of corn ; but with an utter ‡refusal to lend him any guides or assistants, to direct or assist him in discovering or conquering this people.

Newport
proceeds to
Manakins.

NOTWITHSTANDING his disappointment in the aid expected from Powhatan, the extravagant projects above alluded to, were still persisted in :.... Newport, with one hundred and twenty men, consisting of the flower of the company, proceeded towards the country of the Manakins. But the result of this expedition, justified the foresight and counsels of Smith. After a painful journey

* *Smith.*

† *Smith.*

‡ *Ibidem...., Smith.*

of many days, in which they had principally to contend with their own ignorance of the country and the want of provisions, they returned to James Town, sick and dispirited, bringing with them, as their sole consolation, a few specimens of ore, which the refiner pretended contained a portion of *silver.

CHAP.
III.

Smith, president, 1608

SMITH, with his usual industry, finding nothing, which required his presence at the fort, proceeded among the Chickahominies, where he found the Indians little disposed to lend him assistance: But, after some well-timed threats on the side of the English, they sued for peace, and loaded the barges with corn, fish, and wild fowl. With this supply, he returned to James Town, which had as usual, in his absence, been the theatre of sedition and mutiny.

BUT Newport, who with Ratcliffe, had projected the conspiracy, having made acknowledgments to Smith, he was pardoned, and returned to England, where, with his usual regard to veracity, he made false representations of the state of Virginia, to the company in London.

THIS year took place the marriage of Anne Burrass and John Laydon, the first which had been celebrated in Virginia.

First marriage in Virginia.

THE harvest having fallen short of their expectations, and the channel of Indian supply being stopt up, or obstructed, by the orders of Powhatan and the jealousy of the natives; the utmost activity and industry became necessary. Smith, in his barge, visited the Indian settlements on the

* *Smith*, 79.

† *Beverley* makes this event happen in the following year...p. 19.

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III.

Discovers
the people
of Appo-
mattox.

Smith goes
by invitati-
on to the em-
peror.

river, occasionally landing to seize some conceal-
ed hoard, of which he had received information.
During this expedition he discovers the people of
*Appomattox.

AFTER this, captain Smith went by invitation
on a visit to Powhatan, who had promised an am-
ple supply of provisions, on the condition, that
he would send him some workmen to build him
an house, and that a grind-stone, with fifty mus-
quets, and as many swords, a cock and hen, with
a supply of copper and beads, should be brought
to †him.

THE president was aware that the professions
of the emperor were but a bait to entrap him; but
the wants of the colony were pressing, and he de-
termined to accept the invitation.

HAVING dispatched two English and four Ger-
mans to build the house, he proceeded with two
barges, manned by such only as offered themselves
as volunteers. He stopt the first night at Waras-
queake, by whose chief he was hospitably receiv-
ed, and put on his guard against the wiles of
‡Powhatan.

THE president was here enabled to forward the
company's wishes respecting the colony left at
Hatteras by Mr. White. Having obtained guides
from this chief, he dispatched ||Michael Sickle-
more, a valiant and hardy soldier, to make en-
quiries among the Chowanocks, who were seat-

* *Stith*, 89....*Smith*, 59.

† *Stith*, 85.

‡ *Ibidem*....*Smith*.

|| *Ibidem*....*Ibidem*.

ed in the fork between Meherrin and Nottoway rivers*. After various adventures, he himself arrived at Werowocomoco, the favorite seat, and at this time the residence of Powhatan.

CHAP.
III.

Smith, president, 1609

POWHATAN received them with apparent hospitality, but denied that he had sent any message to captain Smith. To the urgent demands for a supply of provisions, he pleaded his own poverty and that of his people; and he affected not to conceal his dislike of this visit of the English, and his wishes for their immediate departure. His reception,

IN this embarrassing situation, the genius and good fortune of Smith did not desert him. He was in the midst of hundreds of Indians headed by their most renowned warrior.

THESE Indians loved their aged leader and revered him as a warrior, whose achievements had raised the glory of the Powhatans, and whose genius and good fortune was still to sustain it. He was still farther endeared to them by his age, by his venerable and majestic figure, by the amiable qualities of his children and family; and with all those favorable circumstances to aid him in the event of a battle, he was known to harbor a rooted hatred of the English. But Smith was at the same time acquainted with the apprehensions entertained by the Indians of their fire arms; and his own experience, added to the accounts of Spanish conquests in South America had demonstrated, that numbers, even when joined with the greatest bravery, were little avail against European disci-

* But chiefly to look for silk grass, and to enquire after Sir W. Raleigh's lost company.

CHAP.
III.Smith, pre-
sident, 1609

pline, and their formidable superiority in the weapons and machines of war.

It appears too by his own confession, that he had come with the fixed resolution not to depart without a supply of provisions, even though he should obtain it by the surprize and captivity of the emperor. Yet with those dispositions, nothing hostile was effected on either side : a striking evidence of the respect with which they had been able mutually to inspire each other.

SMITH still urged his necessities and the invitation of the emperor ; artfully intermingling professions of friendship and attachment to Powhatan, with a well timed allusion to the superiority of the arms, which the English carried in their hands, with lighted matches, ready for battle, and which he observed could always procure them *provisions.

POWHATAN listened attentively to this discourse ; and after a short pause, rising up, he promised the supply demanded within two days : " But," says he, " I have some doubt about the reason of your coming hither. I am informed from many hands, that you come, not to trade, but to invade my people, and to possess my country. This makes me less ready to believe you, and frightens my people from bringing in their corn : And therefore, to ease them of their fears, leave your arms aboard, since they are needless here : We are all friends, and forever Powhatans."

BUT the promises of Powhatan were insincere and insidious. He hoped to consume the English by delay, and he watched with the patience of

* *Smith....Smith.*

the tyger, when he could strike them asleep, or off their guard.

NOR is this conduct to be attributed as a vice to Powhatan : He acted on the maxims of his country, which give to stratagem and finesse, the rewards, nations more civilized, bestow on force. With the Indians, insincerity and dissimulation when exercised towards an enemy, are esteemed virtues of the first order ; and the chief, who practises them successfully, cannot fail of attaining distinction.

Smith, president, 1609

POWHATAN was confirmed in his hostile intentions, by the treachery of the Germans, who exposed to him the weakness of the English.

To gain time, he agreed to permit his people to trade with the English : setting himself the example by the purchase of a copper kettle, in exchange for which, he gave eighty bushels of corn ; stipulating at the same time, for the delivery of an equal quantity the ensuing year, or the Manakin country. To engage their attention, until his force was assembled, he resumed the argument of peace and war, alledging with much gravity, "that he had seen the death of all his people twice ; and that not one of those three generations was then living, except himself ; that he knew the difference of peace and war better, than any in his country ; that he was now grown old, and must die soon ; and that the succession must descend, in order, to his brothers, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catatough, and then to his two sisters, and then to his two daughters. He wished their experience equal to his ; and that Smith's love to them might be no less, than his to Smith. He asked him, why he would take that by force, which he might quietly have by love ? Why he would destroy them, that provided him food ? And, what could he get by war ?

CHAP.
III.

 Smith, president, 1609

For they could hide their provisions, and fly into the woods ; and then he must consequently famish by wronging his friends. He desired to know the reason of his jealousy, since he saw them unarmed, and willing to supply his wants, if he would come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as to invade an enemy ; and he told him, that he was not so simple, as not to know, it was better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with his women and children ; to laugh and be merry with the English, and being their friends, to have copper, hatchets, and whatever else he wanted ; than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and to be so hunted, that he could neither rest, eat, nor sleep.

“ IN that circumstance, his tired men must watch ; and if a twig did but break, all would be crying out, here comes captain Smith ; and so, in this miserable manner, end his miserable life, which might likewise soon be captain Smith’s fate too, through his rashness and unadvisedness. He therefore earnestly exhorted him to peaceable councils, and above all insisted, that the guns and swords, the grand cause of their jealousy and uneasiness, should be removed and sent away.”

BUT Smith was apprised of the aim and intentions of the emperor ; and his specious simplicity therefore, failed in its effect. Smith obstinately persisted in keeping his guard near him, whilst his followers, sensible of their danger, were more than usually vigilant to guard against surprize. Powhatan was disappointed, but he did not despair....So consummate is the art of concealing their sentiments, among this people, that not a feature or muscle betrays the emotion which is passing in the mind : No matter what excesses of

passion disturb or agitate their bosoms, an icy indifference, an iron apathy appears to chill and indurate the unvarying surface of the visage, which nature in general makes an index to the mind, and the beacon of its sentiments.

CHAP.
III.

Smith, president, 1609

POWPATAN proceeded....“ Captain Smith, I never use any Werowance so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least kindness of any: Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away his guns, when requested: No one refuses to lie at my feet, or do what I demand, but you only; of you I can have nothing, but what you value not, and yet you will have, whatsoever you please. Captain Newport you call father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do, what you will, and we must both study to humor and content you: But if you intend so friendly, as you say, send away your arms, for you see, my undesigning simplicity and friendship, cause me, thus nakedly, to forget myself.”

SMITH, apprehending that a longer delay was unsafe and impolitic, and that the present moment was sufficiently favorable for his purpose, ordered the ice to be broken, and sent a message for a supply of men, and the immediate arrival of the boat; and in order to lull the suspicions of the emperor, he sought to engage him in conversation. But the wily savage quickly penetrated his artifice, and secretly withdrew with his women and children, having previously drawn off the attention of Smith, by *entangling him in a discourse with

* *Stith.*

CHAP.
III.

two or three of his women, who were thrown in his way for this purpose.

Smith. pre-
sident, 1609

THE proceedings on both sides, from this moment, resolved themselves into a game of skill between the sagacious European, exercised in the refined artifice of civilization, and the wily barbarian, whose faculties were sharpened by exercise, and unimpaired by luxury. On this occasion, Smith was saved only by the affectionate solicitude of Pocahontas. This interesting maiden, who appears on all occasions, as the guardian genius of the English, being apprized of the intentions of her father, ventured at midnight through the woods to the quarters of Smith, and with tears streaming from her eyes, warned him of his danger, and besought him to consult his *safety.

Smith sav-
ed by Poca-
hontas,

THE president, some time after this, being on a visit to Pamunkey, an attempt was made by Opechancanough to seize him; for which purpose, he beset the place where they had met to trade, with seven hundred Indians well armed, of his own tribe: But Smith, seizing him by the hair, led him trembling in the midst of his people, who immediately laid down their arms. Meanwhile, Opechancanough was kept close prisoner; but the corn stipulated for his ransom was delivered, and the king of Pamunkey was, according to

* *Smith....Stith.*

† Thus he led him, trembling and half dead with fear, among his own people; who were easily induced to throw down their arms, and to deliver the king's vambrace, bow, and arrows; little dreaming that any durst use their king in that manner.

Stith, 90.

agreement, set at liberty by Smith, who embarked the next day for the fort.

SHORTLY after, his life was attempted by *poison; and whilst he walked unattended in the woods, he was attacked by the king of Paspahey, a man of †gigantic stature; whom, after a violent struggle, ‡he bore down, and carried prisoner to James Town, from whence he shortly after escaped.

Smith, president, 1609

FROM this time, the English and the subjects of Powhatan were in a state of open hostility; and the corn and habitations of the natives were every where burnt without pity. It was thought necessary to strike terror, by some signal examples, and the humanity of Smith was obliged to give place to policy: For the natives every where, by the advice of Powhatan, whose sagacious mind foresaw the mischiefs of a foreign establishment, had secreted their corn, and attempted by all the arts of native cunning, to surprize the English, or consume them by watchfulness and famine.

THE following discourse, which took place at a meeting between Smith and the tribe of || Paspa-

* It made him sick, and so worked itself off.

Stith.

† *Smith....Stith.*

‡ And the Indian, by mere dint of strength, forced him into the water, with intent to drown him. Long they struggled, till the president got such hold of his throat, that he almost strangled him.

Stith.

|| Not long after, the president, passing by Paspahey, in his way to Chickahominy, was assaulted by them. But as soon as they knew him, they threw down their arms, and sued for peace.

Stith 96.

CHAP.
III.Smith, pre-
sident, 1609

hey's, will serve to shew the present state of affairs, whilst it ought to give us an high idea of the sagacity and natural eloquence of this people, whom several grave historians have represented as defective in their physical organization, and moral faculties. The speaker, a young athletic Indian, whose name was Okaning, told the president, " That the king, his master, was there present in the company; that they took him for captain Winne, who pursued them in war, although they had never injured him; that if their king offended him in escaping from prison, he ought to consider, that the fishes swim, the fowls fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and live; that therefore, his master, who was a man, ought not to be blamed, for following this necessary instinct of nature even in brute animals. He reminded him of the pains his master took, to save his life, when a prisoner; and if he had since injured him, he was compelled to it, and it had however been already fully revenged, to their too great loss; and he further told him, if he still persisted in his resolution to destroy them, they must abandon their habitations, and settle somewhere beyond his reach; which would only cost them more labor, but would be of worse consequence to the English, who could not well subsist without their corn and fruits; and therefore he earnestly entreated him to grant him his friendship, and to permit them to enjoy their houses, and plant their fields, in security....concluding, that if he would grant them peace, they would trust to his word; but if he proceeded in his revenge, they would quit the country."

THE conditions were gladly accepted, and peace continued uninterrupted whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

SICKLEMORE returned about this time from the

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Chowanocks, without having been able to collect any thing satisfactory, relative to the objects of his mission ; and Smith, who knew the importance attached to those points by the company, dispatched Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill, to the Mangoacks, a nation not subject to the authority of Powhatan, dwelling on the upper branches of Nottoway, or some small streams of *Roanoke. Guides were obtained to accompany these men, from the Quiyoughquohanocks, a small tribe on the south side of James river, ten miles above James †Town. But the expedition, like the former and every succeeding one, was fruitless.

OWING to the unceasing vigilance and industry of Smith, peace was at length firmly established with all the people of Powhatan. The consequence was plenty, and the removal of discontent: Works of public utility progressed with rapidity; whilst the interior economy of the establishment, was regulated by a spirit of discipline and integrity, which promised the most beneficial consequences.

SUCH was the state of things, when captain ‡Argall arrived on a trading voyage, with information of a radical change having taken place in the

* *Stith*, 99.† *Ibidem*.

‡ He came to trade with the colony, and fish for sturgeon, with a ship well furnished with wine, and other provisions. This was at that time a prohibited trade, but being a kinsman to Sir T. Smith, the treasurer, it was connived at and overlooked.

Stith, 100.

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III.

Smith, pre-
sident, 1609

charter, and the adoption of measures by the London company, which, being founded in their ignorance of the country, and the misrepresentations of the disaffected, augured calamity and ruin to the colony.

CHAPTER IV.

Observations on the state of the colony. Company's inordinate expectations of profit—their disappointment. Shift the blame from themselves. Causes which led to their disappointment, and the dismissal of Smith. New charter—its advantages. Lord de la War—Sir Thomas Gates—Sir G. Somers—Captain Newport—sail from England with nine ships. Admiral's ship founders in sight of Bermudas—Crew escape to the island in their boats. Remaining ships arrive at Virginia. Smith supposes them Spaniards—prepares to fight them. Prejudices of the new settlers against Smith—instilled by Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin—He is advised by the better part of the colonists to retain his office. Wishes to resign in favor of Martin, who declines—Difficulties of his situation. Indian war. Opposition to his authority. Imprisons the mutineers—the rest submit. Smith is burnt by the explosion of gun-powder. Attempt of the mutineers to murder him—he embarks for England—his character. Leaves the government to the care of Mr. George Percy. An Indian war excited by the cruelty of the colonists. A famine. The illness of the governor prevents him from remedying those evils. Sir T. Gates and Sir G. Somers arrive with the new commission. Resolve to abandon Virginia. Embark the colony with the stores for England—are met on the way down the river by Lord de la War, who causes

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them to return to James Town. Governor reads his commission. Indian war continues. Illness of the governor—leaves the colony to the care of Mr. Percy. Sir T. Dale arrives—brings a severe code of martial laws. Sir T. Gates governor. Henrico and New Bermudas built by Sir T. Dale. Pocahontas is seduced on board his ship, and detained as a hostage by Argall. Effect of this procedure on Powhatan. He haughtily refuses the conditions of her ransom. Pocahontas married to Mr. J. Rolfe. Powhatan gives his approbation. Chickahominies—their treaty with the English—their form of government. First trace of distinct property in the colony. Expedition against the French settlements in New-England, and the Dutch in New-York, under captain Argall. Particulars of an interview between Mr. Ralph Hamer and Powhatan. Great Virginia lottery drawn. Sir T. Dale returns to Europe with Pocahontas, and several Indians of both sexes. George Yeardley governor. Reduction of the Chickahominies, who rebel. Artful conduct of Opechancanough—is proclaimed king of the Chickahominies. Smith visits Pocahontas in London—writes to the queen in her favor. The decent and interesting deportment of the Indian princess—She is caressed at court. Her husband made secretary. She dies on her return to Virginia—leaves one son—her character. Captain Argall arrives as deputy governor—his tyranny—instanced in the case of Brewster. Complaints of the colony. Lord de la War dies on his way to Virginia. Death of Powhatan—his character. Sir G. Yeardley governor—brings a new charter. First Assembly. Sir Edwin Sandys elected treasurer of the London company, in the room of Sir T. Smith. Happy effect of liberty

on the colony. One hundred maids sent over as wives for the colonists. First encroachment of the king. Earl of Southampton treasurer. Another encroachment of the king, in the article of tobacco. Introduction of negro slaves. The baneful consequences of this traffic—the attempt to justify it answered.

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[illegible]

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the above mentioned cases, and the dates on which they were named:

Name	Date
John A. Smith	Jan. 1, 1870
J. B. Jones	Feb. 1, 1870
C. D. Brown	Mar. 1, 1870
E. F. Green	Apr. 1, 1870
G. H. White	May 1, 1870
I. J. Black	Jun. 1, 1870
K. L. Gray	Jul. 1, 1870
M. N. Hall	Aug. 1, 1870
O. P. King	Sep. 1, 1870
Q. R. Lee	Oct. 1, 1870
S. T. Young	Nov. 1, 1870
U. V. Wright	Dec. 1, 1870

CHAPTER IV,

THUS far we have traced the English establishments, from the first germ, which had been planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, to the early part of one thousand six hundred and nine, when the Virginia colony acquired something like form. We have seen them laboring under the difficulties incident to colonists ; struggling with the vice of a feeble and inefficient charter, and agitated by the broils of faction: We have witnessed the wonder excited among the children of the wilderness, by the color, dress, arms, and manners of the strangers ; and the alternate application of force and address, in subduing their fierce and inconstant spirits. A company transported all at once, as it were, from the world ; composed of discordant and heterogeneous parts, establishes itself in the wilderness, the sovereignty of which it has to dispute with the wolf, and innumerable tribes of warlike savages. Every moment it is in danger of perishing by famine, or the sword :.... Their misfortunes are aggravated by their own turbulence and folly : The genius of one man averts the ruin, and induces order and security.

CAPT. Smith had acquired considerable proficiency in the geography and language of the country : He had studied the character of the people, and made such *representations to the company,

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Smith, president, 1609

* But however free they might be from blame, the coun-

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Smith, pre-
sident, 1609

in London, as if adopted, had established on a basis, which could not be shaken, the prosperity of the colony ; but the men in power, disappointed in their sanguine expectations of a rich and im-

cil in England, were certainly very much fretted with the disappointment ; and by this ship, wrote the president a very angry letter. They complained of the vain hopes they had been fed with, and very small proofs ; and of their factions and silly projects, about dividing the country ; concerning which, the late president and his faction had written some idle story to the earl of Salisbury, at that time chief minister of state : And they threatened, unless the charge of this voyage, amounting to about two thousand pounds, was defrayed by the ship's return, they should be deserted, and left to remain here, as banished men.

To this letter, captain Smith gave a very plain and soldierly answer by the ship, which was at length dispatched ; with the trials of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense, and soapashes, and with what wainscot and clapboard could be provided. In it, he endeavored to lay open to them the causes, that kept them from laying such a foundation, as might have given them better satisfaction ; and advises them against expecting any profitable returns at present. He declares his own integrity and sincerity towards them, and warns them against some persons, who caused them to believe much more, than was true. He tells them, that their directions by Newport had been followed, although he himself was directly against them, as they were very prejudicial, and to the imminent hazard of the whole colony, which was then, when it was too late, generally confessed. He complains of Newport, exposes the vanity and ill consequences of his projects, his lingering in the country, the good cheer and luxury of him and his sailors, and their embezzlement of the public stores : For, of the two thousand pounds, which this ship cost them, that the colony had not received the value of an hundred pounds. He blames Ratcliffe, Archer, and others, as the authors of their factions and disturbances ; and tells them, that he had sent Ratcliffe, a counterfeit impostor, whose right name was Sicklemore, home, lest the company should cut his throat. And he judiciously insists upon their sending useful laborers and proper tradesmen, for their present condition ; and upon providing, first of all, food, lodging, and such other necessities, as were also lately requisite for

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mediate profit, were willing enough to believe the representations of the discontented and envious, rather than suppose that they themselves were mistaken in their calculations. This is the pride of human nature : The blame was transferred from the project to the execution; and with a meanness and injustice, which has unhappily but too many examples to keep it in countenance, Smith, who had been the saviour of the colony, was made the scape goat, whose dismissal was to purify and restore it.

Smith, president, 1609

Vain hopes of the London company.

THE immense treasures brought home by the Portuguese and Spaniards, had filled the minds of the Virginia company with golden dreams, which continued to hover round them, even after the light of experience had detected their fallacy. Immense quarries of rich metals were supposed to shoot their veins through every new discovery : The Spaniards had fallen upon inexhaustible masses of gold and silver : The analogy was defective, yet it was pursued ; till at length the delusive treasures vanished, and they awoke to bitter re-

their being and subsistence, before they went on any other projects of gain or curiosity, for which they were no ways fitted, in their present weak and infant condition. At the same time, he sent them two barrels of such stones, as he thought contained some kind of ore, with notes, signifying in what places he found them : And to shew, he could make as large a discovery, as Newport's, of the Manakins, for less charge, than he spent them at every meal, he sent them a map of the bay and rivers, with a relation annexed, of the countries, and of the nations, that dwelt upon them. And this indeed was done, with such wonderful exactness, as shewed him to have travelled far and seen much ; and it has ever since been the original, from which all later maps and descriptions of Virginia, have been mostly copied.

Stith.

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flections on the folly of high wrought and chimerical expectations.

NEWPORT, whose vain and arrogant demeanor in Virginia, had incurred the severe reproof of Smith, was at hand to keep alive their intimation. He hated the man whose ascendancy threw at a distance his vain pretensions ; and he rejoiced at the occasion, which now presented itself, of effecting his disgrace.

THE present temper of the company, it must be acknowledged, was attended with some beneficial consequences. It seldom happens, that in any considerable innovation, all the parts of the proposed reform are injudicious : Some good, pointed out by experience, will generally suggest itself and be adopted.

THUS, whilst their sensibility was excited by the sufferings of the colony, and by their resentments against their servants, the attention of all was irresistibly drawn to the defects and imperfections of their charter ; and a *new one obtained, which professes a correction of existing abuses, and an enlargement of the powers of the company.

New charter.

THIS charter, which bears date the twenty-third of May, one thousand six hundred and nine, transfers the powers of the president and council, to the company in London, whose governor or governors it commands them, on their allegiance, to obey. In virtue of this grant, the company appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord de la War, captain-general of Virginia ; Sir Thomas Gates,

* This charter is styled a perpetuity to Virginia, in the old records. MS. Penes me.

lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; and captain Newport, vice-admiral.

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IV.

THE latter end of May, Gates, Somers, and Newport, sailed from England with nine ships, well supplied with men and provisions for the colony : But the ship in which they embarked, was separated from the fleet by a storm, and split on a rock in sight of Bermudas ; which island they were fortunate enough to reach in their boats, with every thing valuable belonging to the wreck. The remainder of the fleet, with the exception of a single bark, which foundered at sea, arrived safe in Virginia.

Smith, president, 1609

Admiral's ship founders in sight of Bermudas.

Remainder of fleet arrives at Virginia.

THE president, *alarmed at the appearance of a force superior to what had hitherto been seen in those seas, with his usual gallantry, prepared for defence ; in which he was zealously assisted by the Indians, whom his virtues had completely reconciled to the colony.

RATCLIFFE, Archer, and Martin, whose mutinous spirit, Smith had steadily and successfully opposed in Virginia, came with this expedition. During the voyage, they had prejudiced the new adventurers against Smith, by the same calumnies and misrepresentations, with which the minds of the London company had been poisoned : And they now landed with an air of authority, announcing the termination of his authority, and the establishment of the new order of things.

Ratcliffe, and Archer.

BUT the new commission, which alone could legally supercede Smith, was in the hands of the three governors at Bermudas ; and although he was heartily tired of his office, there was no authority to which he could correctly surrender it. In this dilemma, urged by the solicitations of the

Sow dissensions in the colony.

* Smith....Stith.

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IV.

Smith, president, 1609

Sow dissensions in the colony.

Are seized and imprisoned by Smith.

Smith proposes to resign in favor of Martin.

better and most judicious part of the old adventurers, he consented for some time longer to retain his power.

BUT the malcontents, encouraged by the discourses of Ratcliffe and Archer, refused obedience to his authority ; and the colony became at once divided into two parties, who prepared to decide the merits of the question by the sword. Anarchy had already commenced, with symptoms too violent, to justify the hope of relief by gentle, or ordinary means : It became necessary to resort to measures prompt and decisive. Archer and Ratcliffe, with five other leaders of the mutiny, were seized and thrown into prison ; and aware that indolence, was the nurse of mutiny and discontent, he dispatched West to the falls, with one hundred and twenty men ; and Martin, with a like number to Nansamond, for the purpose of forming settlements at those places, and for the greater convenience of procuring provisions.

BUT being convinced by accurate observation, that the utmost stretch of human invention, in the present circumstances, could furnish only palliatives to a disease, which he rightly judged incurable ; and disgusted with the wayward and capricious disposition of the adventurers, he proposed to resign in favor of Martin, the only *one, who remained of the original council.

THIS man, however, sufficiently forward, as it has been seen, on former occasions, to thwart the measures, and arraign the motives of Smith, acknowledged himself incompetent to meet a crisis

* Ratcliffe was disqualified by removal, and Scrivener lost his life as he passed in a boat to Hog-Island.

so pregnant with peril and difficulty, and *declined.

THUS †compelled, as it were, by the pressure of events, to remain, Smith set himself seriously at work, to encounter the dangers, which on every side menaced him.

AN Indian war was now added to the long list of evils. The cruelty and rapacity of Martin and West, had driven the unfortunate natives to the necessity of reprisal and defence. Martin escaped to James-Town, terrified at the conflagration he had kindled ; while West, who had been seated at ‡Powhatan, was in open arms against his authority; under pretence that the new commission had determined his presidency.

Indian war.

BUT his good fortune, once more dispersed

* Stith says he held the office three hours.

† For as Ratcliffe had been removed from the council, and was not again restored, Martin and Smith were the only two then in the country, that could either elect or be elected president.

Stith's Virg. 104.

‡ He was seated originally, as it has been seen, at the falls ; but Smith, having examined the site, found it inconvenient, and purchased this place, one of the seats of the emperor. The conditions of their agreement were these : That the English should defend him against the Manakins ; that he should resign to them the fort and the houses, with all that country, for a proportion of copper ; that all thieves should be sent thither, to receive their punishment ; that every house, as a custom, should pay the president a bushel of corn, for an inch square of copper, and a certain quantity of poccoons for king James, for their protection ; and that they should barter what else they could spare, at their best discretion.

Stith, p. 104.

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the clouds, which hovered over the establishment. The mutineers, awed by the decision of the president, and terrified by the *assaults of the Indians, made submission : Whilst the Indians, who †complained that he had brought them worse enemies than the Manakins, soothed by his promises of restoration, and relying on his good faith, laid down their arms.

WHILST he passed down the river, on his return to James Town, a bag of powder, by some accident, took fire, as he slept in the boat, and burnt him in a dreadful manner. In the agony of his pain, he jumped into the water, from which he was rescued with much difficulty. In this situation he arrived at the fort, where he was to encounter fresh dangers : For the mutineers, seeing him unable to defend himself, conspired to assassinate him, and usurp the government. But their intentions being discovered, they with difficulty escaped the fury of the old adventurers, the companions of Smith's toils and achievements, who, thronging round him in arms, conjured him to remain, and offered themselvss to avenge him on his enemies : But his resolution was not to be

* The ship was no sooner under sail, but twelve Indians assaulted these one hundred and twenty in their fort.

† The Indians also came to him—complaining, that he had brought them, for protectors, worse enemies, than the Manakins themselves ; that they stole their corn, robbed their gardens, broke open their houses, beat them, and kept several in prison ; and that, till then, they had borne all this, out of love to him ; but desired pardon, if they hereafter defended themselves.

They likewise offered him their assistance, and to fight for him against them, if he would lead them on.

Stith.

shaken, and he immediately embarked for †England.

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“ I SHALL finish,” (says Stith) “ his character, from the testimonies of some of his soldiers and fellow adventurers. They own him to have made justice his first guide, and experience his second ; that he was ever fruitful in expedients, to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing, he either had, or could procure ; that he rather chose to lead, than send his soldiers into danger ; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing expeditions, always shared every thing equally with his company, and never desired any of them to do or undergo any thing, that he was not ready to do or undergo himself ; that he hated baseness, sloth,

* And thus, about Michaelmas, one thousand six hundred and nine, captain Smith left the country, never again to see it. He left behind him, three ships and seven boats ; commodities ready for trade ; the corn newly gathered ; ten weeks provision in the store ; four hundred ninety and odd persons ; twenty four pieces of ordnance ; three hundred musquets, with other arms and ammunition, more than sufficient for the men ; the Indians, their language, and habitations, well known to an hundred trained and expert soldiers ; nets for fishing ; tools of all sorts, to work ; apparel, to supply their wants ; six mares and a horse ; five or six hundred hogs ; as many hens and chickens ; with some goats, and some sheep. For whatever had been brought, or bred here, still remained : But this seditious and distracted rabble, regarding not any thing, but from hand to mouth, riotously consumed what there was ; and took care for nothing, but to color and make out some complaints against captain Smith. For this end, the ships were staid three weeks, at a great charge, till they could produce and bring them to bear : But, notwithstanding their perverse humors and unreasonable clamors, captain Smith was undoubtedly a person of a very great and generous way of thinking, and full of a high idea of the public good, and his country's honor.

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pride, and indignity, more than any danger ; that he would suffer want, rather than borrow ; and starve, sooner than not pay ; that he loved action, more than words ; and hated falsehood and covetousness, worse than death ; and, that his adventures gave life and subsistency to the colony, and his loss was their ruin and destruction. They confess, that there were many captains in that age, (as there are indeed in all ages) who were no soldiers ; but that captain Smith was a soldier, of the true old English stamp, who fought, not for gain or empty praise, but for his country's honor and the public good ; that his wit, courage, and success here, were worthy of eternal memory ; that by the mere force of his virtue and courage, he awed the Indian kings, and made them submit, and bring presents ; that, notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution, there was seldom seen a milder or more tender heart, than his was ; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or sly, but was open, honest, and sincere ; and, that they never knew a soldier, before him, so free from those military vices, of wine, tobacco, debts, dice, and oaths."

THE administration, by the voice of the company, devolved on Mr. Percy. This gentleman had, for a long time previous to his appointment, labored under a violent disease, and had taken his passage for England ; but overcome by the importunities of the company, he consented to remain, notwithstanding his disorder had acquired such violence, that he was unable to rise from his bed. But the encreasing disorders and necessities of the company, demanded firmer hands to hold the reigns of government : For the Indians, no longer awed by the presence of Smith, and maddened by the cruelty and rapacity of the English, assaulted the different settlements with the

utmost fury. A naked statement of facts, more clearly than any description, will convey the miseries of the Virginia colony. Martin and West, dismayed by the frequent assaults of their savage enemy, abandoned their settlements at *Nansamond and the falls, and arrived at James-Town in the utmost misery, having lost their boats and several men ; while Ratcliffe, with thirty men, were surprized by Powhatan, and slain. A single boy, saved by the generous pity of Pocahontas, alone survived from this massacre. Famine now made its appearance, attended with circumstances at once melancholy and disgusting : Food, the bare idea of which, during better days, had created loathing and disgust, was now seized on, with greedy and bestial †voracity.

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Geo. Percy,
president.

* The nation, having been reduced to subjection and contribution, used him kindly ; yet such were his unreasonable jealousy and fear, that he surprised the poor naked king ; amid his monuments and houses, with the island, wherein he lived, and there fortified himself. But the Indians, soon perceiving his fear and distraction, ventured to assault him ; and they killed several of his men, released their king, and gathered and carried off a thousand bushels of corn ; whilst he, in the mean while, never once offered to intercept them, but sent to the president, then at the falls, for thirty soldiers.

Sith, p. 110.

† Those who had starch, made no little use of it, in this extremity ; and the very skins of their horses were prepared, by stewing and hashing, into a dainty and welcome food. Nay, so great was the famine, that the poorer sort took up an Indian, that had been slain and buried, and eat him ; and so did several others, one another, that died, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs : And one, among the rest, killed his wife, powdered her up, and had eaten part of her, before it was discovered ; for which he was, afterwards, severely executed. In short, so extreme was the famine and distress of this time, that it was, for many years after, dis-

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IV.

Geo. Percy,
president.

THIS year was brought to a close, the contest between Spain and the United Provinces, under circumstances as mortifying to power, as they were honorable to the cause of liberty. It had raged for fifty three years, with a fury which threatened the repose of Europe, and the independence of her nations ; and its result will be fondly recorded by history, among those incidents, which are considered sufficiently important to furnish examples for mankind.

ENGLAND, with a sense of propriety and sound policy, of which, it had been happy for her, if the examples had been more common, considered the cause of the Dutch as intimately connected with the civil and religious liberties of Europe ; whilst Henry the great, of France, animated by similar dispositions, in defiance of the religious prejudices of his subjects, co-operated zealously with Elizabeth, in shielding the infant commonwealth from the ruin, which (considering the enormous power of her enemy) appeared inevitable.

IN obedience to the advice of his council, and the feelings of the English nation, which ran strong in favor of the Dutch, king James continued the succours, which had been afforded by his predecessor. But their chief support lay in themselves, and the noble enthusiasm of liberty ; and towards the close of the contest, “ joining peaceful industry to military valor, the republic was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely less on those neighboring princes,

tinguished and remembered, by the name of the starving year.

Stith, p. 117.

who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompt-
to encourage her *revolt."

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IV.

Geo. Percy,
president.

THERE is so plain connection between the great revolutions, which have changed the moral condition of nations, and between the causes which produce them, that the notice of this event can neither be irrelevant nor uninteresting. Revolutions are the beacons set up by history to light the oppressed on their way to freedom: But independent of the general interest they create, there is a stronger reason for the mention of this revolution: There is, as well in its progress and result, so striking an affinity between it, and the struggles of America, that unless where all the circumstances are accurately known, it might be thought, that one served as an exact model for the other.

IN the midst of the distresses of the Virginia colony, the remembrance of Smith obtruded itself, awakening in them bitter regrets for his loss, and calling out severe reproaches on themselves, for their baseness and ingratitude. From five hundred, their number was soon reduced to sixty men, women, and children; and this miserable remnant, could not reasonably calculate on the security of a single hour, from the assaults of the savages, even though by some miracle they should escape the agony of disease, and the torments of famine.

IN this forlorn condition, they were found by Sir T. Gates and Sir G. Somers, who, on the twenty fourth of May, arrived in two barks, built with such materials, as they could find in Bermudas, assisted by the wreck of their own ship. It required them but little observation, to be convinced of the inadequacy of their means to remedy an evil so woeful and extensive; and after a short

CHAP.
IV.Geo. Percy,
president.

consultation, it was unanimously determined to abandon the enterprize. The colonists, with whatever was most valuable, being embarked, the ships, dropt down the river to Mulberry Island : So near to entire *extinction, was the germ of this mighty nation.

IF it will be believed, that the Almighty Architect is ever under the necessity of altering or, regulating the plan of his †providence, here certainly is an occasion, which may justify his interference. This little fleet carried with it the altars and the destinies of liberty : The germ of human happiness is on board : Unconscious of the invaluable treasure they possess, the wretched colonists carry with them the sacred fire, which shall bless their posterity, and animate the world. The vestal flame lives unnoticed amongst them, without the care of a priestess or an altar. The time is yet to come, when their descendants, enflamed with a holy enthusiasm, shall build temples, and raise altars for its preservation.

A BOAT is seen : The bosoms of the colonists beat with agonizing impatience : The decks and shrouds are crouded : Every eye is on the watch ;

* Having taken this resolution, and buried their ordnance at the gate of the fort, on the seventh of June, at beat of drum, the whole company embarked in four pinnaces. It was with great difficulty that some of the people were restrained from setting fire to the town ; but the governor, with a select company, remained on shore, till the others had embarked ; and he was the last that stepped into the boat.

Belknap's Amer. Biog, p. 31.

† The colonists were importunate to burn the town and fortifications ; but God, who did not intend that this excellent country should be abandoned, put it into the heart of Sir T. Gates to save it.

Stith, p. 117.

every ear....silence listens with breathless curiosity. It is a boat belonging to the fleet of Lord de la War, which is close at hand. The admiral himself soon heaves in sight : The little squadron tacks about by his command, and returns to James Town.

1610.

June 9.

10.

HAVING disembarked the adventurers, Lord de la War read his commission, "appointing him governor and captain-general, during his life, of the colony and plantation of *Virginia;" and pronounced a discourse, containing a severe reproof of their former dissensions, and a denunciation of severe penalties against future delinquency. Martin was displaced from the council : The habitual indolence of the colonists was gradually removed ; whilst a spirit of industry was revived by the example and authority of the governor.

Lord de la War, first governor.

BUT a sensible decrease in their †provisions having taken place, Sir G. Somers was dispatched to Bermudas, where he died, giving his name to the cluster of islands ; whilst captain Argall, who sailed in company, being driven back by stress of weather, was dispatched to the Potowmac, to trade with the Indians, where he found Henry Spillman, who had been saved from Ratcliffe's massacre, by Pocahontas.

AN event occurred this year, which threw a general sadness over the face of France, and excited

* *Purchas*, V. 1754.

† For it was computed, that all the provisions landed from England, the whole first three years, was not sufficient to have served the people, according to their numbers, six months.

Stith, p. 112.

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IV.

the sympathy and indignation of good men, all over Europe. The celebrated Henry IV. of France, whose co-operation with England in favor of the Dutch, has been noticed above, and whose character approaches nearest to the fanciful idea of a patriot king; at the moment, when his virtues had triumphed over the prejudices of his countrymen, and France was recovering from her wounds by the wisdom of his administration, was assassinated by the hand of a fanatic.

THE consequences of this tragical event to the French nation, should satisfy the advocates of monarchy, of the destructive properties of this kind of government. In examining this question, the possibility of realizing the notion of a patriot king, may be conceded to them, without any fear, that it will affect the result: The reign of Henry then, is certainly one of the strongest examples on which they can rest. But was this prince, with all his virtues and talents, able to extend, beyond his life, the fruits of his wisdom; or have nations any security, that the virtues of a king are necessarily to descend with his sceptre to his successor? In the case of Henry, how forcible and melancholy is the answer. The fabric of French happiness and glory, erected by the genius and virtues of Henry, and matured and adorned by the counsels of the memorable Sully, was fated, under his successor, to feel the shock of rapid dissolution; whilst parasites and sycophants, fattened on the spoils of a gallant but oppressed people.

MEANWHILE the governor forms a settlement at Kickotan, where he builds *two forts; and the Indians, still continuing hostile, their settlements were attacked and burnt. In one of those expe-

* Henry and Charles, in honor of the sons of king James.

ditions, one of their queens, with her children, was taken ; and afterwards, on some frivolous pretext, put to death in cold blood. But these measures, so different from the humane and able policy of Smith, served but to exasperate this fierce and untameable people. Lord de la War himself, whilst engaged in reviewing the settlement at the falls, was attacked with great fury, and several of his men were slain ; whilst the stragglers were often surprised and butchered with savage ferocity.

THESE difficulties were aggravated by the *illness of the governor, the symptoms of which appeared with such alarming malignity, that a change of air and climate were pronounced essential to his restoration. He †departed from Virginia, on the twenty eighth of March, leaving the colony to the care of George Percy, until the arrival of Sir T. Dale.

BUT while the Virginia establishment was thus almost miraculously preserved by the arrival of Lord de la War, a danger of no less magnitude awaited it in the impatience of the company in London, and their inordinate expectations of immediate profit. It appears, that the genuine commercial spirit, which works by bold enterprise and patient industry, was debauched at this day, by the bewitching reports of Spanish discovery ; and the value of distant possessions, was estimated by the mines of rich

* He was first assailed by the flux, then by the cramp, and after that by the gout ; all of which reduced him to so weak and low a state, that, being unable to stir, it brought on him the scurvy.

Stith, p. 120.

† The colony, at the period of his departure, consisted of about two hundred people.

Purchas, V. 1765.

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IV.

Geo. Percy,
deputy go-
vernor.

metals they were supposed to contain. Disappointed in their expectations of discovering a Potosi in Virginia, the question was seriously discussed, whether the enterprize should not be abandoned.

BUT the testimony of Sir T. Gates, solemnly given in at one of the quarter courts, backed by the representations of *Lord de la War, who published a treatise on the occasion, removed the veil, which ignorance and misrepresentation had drawn before the eyes of the company ; and it was determined once more, to prosecute the enterprize with spirit and activity.

Sir T. Dale
governor.

SIR T. Dale, with three ships abundantly supplied with all necessaries, arrived the tenth of

* The substance of these representations was, that the country was rich in itself, but that time and industry were necessary to make its wealth profitable to the adventurers ; that it yielded abundance of valuable woods, as oak, walnut, ash, sassafras, mulberry trees, for silk worms, live-oak, cedar, and fir for shipping ; and that on the banks of the Potowmac, there were trees large enough for masts ; that it produced a species of wild hemp, for cordage, pines which yielded tar, and a vast quantity of iron ore ; besides lead, antimony, and other minerals, and several kinds of colored earths ; that in the woods were found various balsams, with other medical drugs, with an immense quantity of myrtle berries for wax ; that the forests and rivers harbored beavers, otters, foxes, and deer, whose skins were valuable articles of commerce ; that sturgeon might be taken in the greatest plenty, in five noble rivers ; and that without the bay, to the northward, was an excellent fishing bank for cod of the best quality ; that the soil was favorable to the cultivation of vines, sugar canes, oranges, lemons, almonds, and rice ; that the winters were so mild, that cattle could get their food abroad, and that swine could be fattened on wild fruits ; that the Indian corn yielded a most luxuriant harvest ; and in a word, that it was " one of the goodliest countries," promising as rich entrails as any kingdom of the earth, to which the sun is no near a neighbor.

Purchas,

May. He found the colony as usual indolent and improvident. To those vices their mode of living had added a disposition to mutiny, which being general and habitual, it was more difficult to repress.

IN this delicate crisis he undertook to put in force, certain laws sent over by Sir T. Smith, which according to Stith, "were chiefly translated from the *martial laws of the low countries," and were utterly repugnant to the spirit of English liberty, and the letter of their charter.... Certain commotions† at this time strongly marked by features of treason, seem in some measure to justify these measures; but when was it that tyranny wanted

* These were very bloody and severe, and no ways agreeable to a free people, and the British constitution; neither had they any sanction or authority from the council and company in England.

Stith, p. 122.

† For, this summer, one Webb and one Price, entered into a plot against the government, which was, soon after, followed by a more dangerous conspiracy of Jeffery Abbot. This Abbot had served long as a soldier, both in Ireland and the Netherlands, and was here serjeant of captain Smith's company; who declares, that he never knew in Virginia, a more able soldier, less turbulent, of a better wit, more hardy and industrious, or more forward to cut off those, who endeavored to abandon the country, or wrong the colony. But from what cause soever his discontents arose, whether he resented his being neglected and unrewarded, and having others put over his head, and preferred before him; or whether there was any other reason of his dissatisfaction, it is certain, that this man, who never received any reward for his long services and deserts, now met with an immediate punishment, for his sudden and passionate deviation from his duty. One Cole also, and Kitchens, with three more, plotted to runaway to the Spaniards, whom they supposed, from some wrong information, to be inhabiting somewhere within five days journey of the fort.

Stith, p. 123.

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1611.

an excuse for its excesses? It is curious to trace the progress of legislation from its dawn to the season, when reason dissipates the clouds, which obscure it; and man will find perhaps some consolation in the reflection, that the excesses of power do but enlarge his prospect of freedom and security. The dawn and origin of liberty are to be sought for amid the violence of power and the sufferings of slaves. The discontent nourished in secret, at first communicates itself in whispers and low mutterings, which are scarcely heard; till grown strong by communication and confident in its strength, it rolls over the heads of tyrants, deep toned and awful as the thunder.

THE arrival of Sir T. Gates, which took place in the beginning of August, left Dale at leisure to attend to his favorite project, the foundation of a town. The ruins of this place called *Henrico, in honor of one of the sons of the monarch, are still visible at †Tuckahoe. To revenge some in-

* This town stood at the mouth of the river, and was accounted but five miles by land from Henrico.

† It lay from river to river, upon a plain of high land, with very steep and inaccessible bands, and the neck without, being well empaled, gave it all the security and conveniency of an island. It had three streets of well framed houses, a handsome church, and the foundation of another laid, to be built of brick, besides store-houses, watch-houses, and other public conveniences. Upon the verge of the river bank, stood five houses, inhabited by the better sort of people, who kept continual sentinel for the town's security.

About two miles from the town, into the main, he ran another palisade, from river to river, near two miles in length, guarded with several forts, with a large quantity of corn ground impaled, and sufficiently secured. Besides these precautions, there may still be seen, upon the river bank, within the island, the ruins of a great ditch, now overgrown with large and stately trees; which, it may be supposed,

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1611.

juries of the Appomattox Indians, he took their town by assault, and finding it convenient to the new settlement, he called it New Bermudas, annexing to it as a corporation several *adjoining plantations, and bestowing on it some valuable privileges for ever.

THIS year was remarkable for the settlement of the †Summer Islands, owing in a great mea-

was defended with a palisade, to prevent a surprize on that side, by crossing the river : And for a still further security to the town, he intended, but never quite finished, a palisade on the south side of the river, as a range for the hogs ; and he called it Hope in Faith and Coxendale. It was about two miles and an half long, and was secured by five of their sort of forts, called Charity fort, Elizabeth fort, fort Patience, and Mount Malady, with a guest house for sick people, upon a dry and high situation, and in a wholesome air, in the place, where Jefferson church now stands. On the same side of the river also, Mr. Whitaker, their preacher, chose to be seated ; and he empaled a fine parsonage, with an hundred acres of land, calling it Rock-Hall.

Stith, p. 124.

* Upper and nether Hundreds, Rocksdales Hundred, Shirley Hundred, and Digges Hundred.

† Captain Mathew Somers, with his company, at their return to England with Sir George's body, had made very advantageous relations of Bermudas : But these were little credited at first, and looked upon, as mere travellers' tales ; till some of the Virginia company apprehended, that a settlement there might be very beneficial and helpful to the plantation in Virginia. But as by their former letters patent, they were only entitled to the islands within an hundred miles of their coast, and as Bermudas lay much beyond that distance, they procured a new charter from his majesty, bearing date of March 12, 1611-12. This granted them all the islands in the oceans and seas, within three hundred leagues of the coast, between the one and fortieth and thirtieth degrees of northerly latitude : It also gave them a power to set up lot-

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1612.

Bermudas
settled.

sure to the favorable report made of the soil, climate and productions, by Matthew Somers. To effect this desirable object, a new charter became necessary, their former restricting them to the dominion of those islands only, situate within one hundred miles of their coast. This *instrument which bears date March the twelfth, one thousand six hundred and twelve, extended the company's jurisdiction three hundred leagues from the coast, between the forty-first and thirtieth degrees of north latitude.

MEANWHILE captain Argall, who had just arrived from Europe, having by the means of the boy Spillman, the preceding year, established a friendly intercourse with the Indians of the Potowmac, proceeded once more on a trading adventure to that river. By the means of Japazaws, king of Potowmac, he discovered that Pocahontas was concealed in the neighborhood, and he immediately conceived the design of getting her into his power ; concluding, that the possession of so valuable an hostage, would operate as a check on the hostile dispositions of the emperor, and

teries ; to sue for the monies subscribed, requiring the judges to favor and further the said suits, so far forth, as law and equity would, in any wise, further and permit ; together with other ample privileges and authorities, as may be more fully seen in the charter at large, printed in the appendix. But the Virginia company sold these islands to about an hundred and twenty of their own members, who were erected into a distinct society and body corporate, by the name of the Somer Islands company. Sir Thomas Smith was elected their treasurer, or governor, in England ; and some time this year 1612, Mr. Richard More was sent governor of the country, with sixty men, to make a settlement and plantation.

Stith, p. 127.

* See Appendix.

might perhaps be made an instrument of peace and reconciliation.

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IV.

THE integrity of Japasaws was not proof against the seducing appearance of a copper kettle, which was fixed as the price of his treachery ; and this amiable maiden, whose soul nature formed on one of her kindest and noblest models, was betrayed by her perfidious host, into the hands of a people, whom her tender and compassionate spirit had often snatched from famine and the sword.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1611.

Pocahontas
is betrayed
by Japasaws

FOR the causes of this princess's absence from her father, we are left to bare *conjecture. Her avowed partiality for the English, had probably drawn down on her the displeasure of this high spirited monarch ; and she had retired to avoid the effects of his immediate resentment.

THE news of this flagrant violation of faith, had at first, a different effect to what had been contemplated : For Powhatan, dearly as he loved Pocahontas, had too much at heart the safety of his people, to make any considerable †sacrifice for her restoration. He sent two of his sons on the faith of a truce, to ascertain her situation ; with whose report, he appeared to be satisfied....but he still persisted in refusing the proposed ransom.

Effect of
this proce-
dure on Pow
hatan.

* Except it was to withdraw herself from being a witness to the frequent butcheries of the English, whose folly and rashness, after Smith's departure, put it out of her power to save them.

Smith, p. 128.

† The governor proposed to him to ransom his daughter "with the guns, men, and tools of the English, which he had treacherously stolen and surprised."

Smith, p. 128.

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1613.

Pocahontas
is married
to Mr. Rolfe

AN incident however, occurred at this time, which contributed to soften the obdurate spirit of the savage. A tender regard had commenced in the sensible and susceptible bosom of Pocahontas, for a Mr. Rolfe, which every day gained strength by the delicate attentions of that gentleman. Their mutual passion at length found words, and was disclosed, with all the fears and modesty of love, to Sir T. Dale; whilst a similar confession was made to her brother, by Pocahontas. Information of those circumstances being dispatched to Powhatan, he formally gave his consent to the proposed union; and the marriage was solemnized in the presence of Opachisco, uncle to Pocahontas, and of her two brothers.

Republic of
Chickahominy.

THE Chickahominies, a bold and independent nation, who enjoyed the blessings of a republican government, alarmed at the report of this peace, and dreading lest they should fall under the tyranny which they so much abhorred, dispatched a commissioner to Sir T. Dale, offering to submit to his authority, provided they were permitted to retain their laws and form of government. This proposal was judged too reasonable and convenient to be rejected; and captain Argall with fifty men, were dispatched to receive their submission.

Enter into
an alliance
with Eng-
lish.

ON the arrival of Argall, a council was called, and a peace concluded on the following conditions:

I. THAT they should forever be called Englishmen, and be true subjects to king James, and his deputies: II. That they should neither kill nor detain, any of the English, or their cattle, but should bring them home: III. That they should be always ready to furnish the English with three hundred men, against the Spaniards, or any other enemy: IV. That they should not enter any of the English towns, before sending in word, that they were new Englishmen: V. That every

fighting man, at gathering their corn, should bring two bushels to the store, as a tribute ; for which he should receive as many hatchets : VI. That the eight chief men should see all this performed, or receive the punishment themselves ; and for their diligence, they should have a red coat, a copper chain, and king James's picture, and be accounted his noblemen.

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1613.

It is curious to observe the effects of liberty on this rude and uncultivated people, and the prodigies, which its influence can every where achieve. Although the efficient force of this tribe consisted but of three or four hundred men, and their soil was barren and ungrateful, they flourished in the bosom of plenty and security, and had manfully resisted the repeated attempts of Powhatan to enslave them.

Effect of li-
berty on this
people.

BEFORE this time, there was no trace of *dis-

* And now the English began to find the mistake of forbidding and preventing private property : For, whilst they all labored jointly together, and were fed out of the common store, happy was he, that could slip from his labor ; or slobber over his work in any manner. Neither had they any concern about the increase ; presuming, however the crop prospered, that the public store must still maintain them.

The five years also, prescribed in his majesty's instructions, under the privy seal, for trading altogether in common stocks, and bringing the whole fruit of their labors into common store houses, were now expired. Therefore, to prevent this inconveniency and bad consequence, Sir Thomas Dale allowed each man three acres of cleared ground, in the nature of farms. They were to work eleven months for the store, and had two bushels of corn from thence ; and only had one month allowed them, to make the rest of their provisions. This was certainly very hard and pinching ; but his new and favorite settlement at Bermudas Hundred had better conditions....for one month's labor, which must neither

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IV.

Sir T. Gates
governor,
1613.

First trace
of distinct
property in
Virginia.

Sir T. Dale
governor.

inct and exclusive property in the company :.... Each individual put the fruits of his labors into the common stock, and industry and indolence were thus placed on the same footing. The disadvantages of such a procedure must be obvious. This was a property too *vague and uncertain, to stimulate the enterprize and industry of the owner. The foresight of Dale put a stop to this evil; and though his remedy is partial and defective, it must still be considered as the dawn of civilization.

SIR T. Gates having returned to Europe, the government once more devolved on Sir T. Dale. An expedition, boldly conceived and promptly executed, by this gentleman, in the commencement of his administration, displayed those talents for government, of which his previous activity had given the promise. The French and †Dutch had formed settlements, which, measured by degrees of latitude, were considered encroachments on the rights of the Virginia company : For the king of

be in seed time nor harvest, they were exempted from all other services ; and for this exemption, they only paid two barrels and a half of corn, as a yearly tribute to the store.— However, the prospect of these farmers labors, gave the colony much content ; and they were no longer in fear of wanting, either for themselves, or to entertain their new settlers.

Stith, p. 131.

* “ The most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much pains in a week, as they would have done for themselves in a day ; presuming, that however the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them ; by which means, they reaped not so much corn by the labor of thirty men, as three men could have produced, on their own lands.

Purchas, V. 1766.

† The Dutch contended, that their settlement, geographically considered, was not included in the grant.

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IV.

England, as the head of the church, had in some measure, arrogated to himself the same power assumed by the vicar of Christ, of granting territories, and defining their limits, according to a species of right, at once vague and incomprehensible.

Sir T. Dale
governor.
1614.

CAPTAIN Argall, according to his instructions, proceeded first to the bay of Fundy, where he destroyed the two settlements of Port Royal and St. Croix, bringing with him whatever was valuable. On his return, he unexpectedly appeared before the fort of New Amsterdam, on the Hudson, where the *governor, who was unprepared for defence, surrendered at discretion.

It cannot be thought uninteresting to relate the particulars of an interview, which took place at this time, between the emperor Powhatan and Mr R. †Hamer, a man of some intelligence and afterwards a member of the council in Virginia.

Interview
between Mr
Hamer and
Powhatan.

MR. Hamer went by the directions of Sir T. Dale, accompanied by T. Savage, the boy formerly presented by Newport to Powhatan, for the purpose of demanding his second daughter,

* The Dutch governor, Hendrick Christiaens, being unable to make any resistance, quietly submitted himself and his colony to the crown of England, and was permitted to remain there. But on the arrival of a reinforcement the next year, they built another fort, on the south end of the island Manhattan, where the city of New-York now stands, and held the country for many years, under a grant from the states general, by the name of the New Netherlands.

Belknap's Amer. p. 45.

† To whose relation we are indebted for this part of the history of Virginia.

Stith, 133.

CHAP.
IV.

Sir T. Dale
governor.
1614.

as a pledge and assurance of his friendship. The emperor immediately recognizing the boy, accosted him in the following words :

“ My child, you were my boy, and I gave you leave, four years ago, to go and see your friends ; but I have never seen or heard of you, nor of my own man Namontack since, although many ships have gone and returned.”

AFTER this, turning to Mr. Hamer, he demanded his business, which being briefly explained to him, he replied :

“ I GLADLY accept my brother’s salute of love and peace ; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his presents, as pledges thereof, with no less thankfulness : But as to my daughter, I sold her, a few days since, to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Roanoke.”

BUT Mr. Hamer having represented to him, that the Roanoke was but a trifling consideration, for the daughter of so great a prince, he candidly acknowledged that he had not assigned the true motive for his refusal : His daughter, he admitted, was still at his disposal ; but her presence and society were necessary to his happiness ; and by her residence among the English, he should be bereft of the sweetest solace of his declining years, inasmuch as his sense of propriety and policy could never permit him to put himself into the power of the English, although he was tired of war, and was solicitous to remain with them on terms of peace.

HE told Mr. Hamer, therefore, to *urge him

* *Stith.*

CHAP.
IV.Sir R. Dale
governor.

no farther, but to return this answer to his *brother Dale, "That he held it not a brotherly part, to endeavor to bereave him of his two darling children at once ; that, for his part, he desired no farther assurance of his friendship, than the promise he had given, and that from him, Sir Thomas already had a pledge, one of his daughters, which, as long as she lived, would be sufficient ; but if she should happen to die, he promised to give another ; and further, says he, tell him, although he had no pledge at all, yet he need not distrust any injury from me or my people. There hath been enough of blood and war ; too many have been slain already, on both sides ; and, by my occasion, there shall never be more. I, who have power to perform it, have said it : I am now grown old, and would gladly end my days in peace and quietness ; and although I should have just cause of resentment, yet my country is large enough, and I can go from you ; and this answer, I hope, will satisfy my brother."

THIS year, captain Smith sailed to *North Virginia*, on a voyage of trade and discovery. He took a chart of the coast, and was decorated on his return, with the sounding, but unprofitable title of admiral of the country, which he called New England. Capt. Smith sails to N. Virginia.

THIS year gave birth also to another incident, connected in some measure with the history of this state, and interesting to the whole republic of letters.... The celebrated Raleigh published his history of the world from the prison, where he was confined by the dastardly conduct of his master, to gratify the hatred of the Spanish court against this incompa-

* *Stith*.

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IV.

Sir T. Dale
governor.
1614.

nable man. This performance is said to have given offence to the king, and perhaps by maturing the malignity of his enemies, it hastened the period of his execution.

1615.

It appears, that at this time the company in London, had exchanged their extravagant expectations of immediate profit, for a calm and rational hope of permanent advantage. The salutary reform was in a great measure brought about by the sensible representations of Sir T. Gates, *supported by the testimony of captain Argall, who had lately returned to Europe.

THIS happy disposition immediately manifested itself in several judicious projects, for the advancement of the colony; amongst which, the most considerable and efficient, was a †lottery, the drawing of which took place this year.

1616.

THIS year, Sir T. Dale returned to Europe, taking with him the princess Pocahontas, and her husband Mr. Rolfe, with several Indians of both

* *Stith.*

† This expedient they were authorised to employ in their new charter; and it is remarkable, as the first instance, in the English history, of any public countenance given to this pernicious, seducing mode of levying money.

But the house of commons, which, towards the close of this reign, began to observe every measure of government with jealous attention, having remonstrated against the institution, as inconsistent and impolitic; James re-called the licence, under the sanction of which it had been established.

Rob. Amer. vol. IV. p. 302.

On that occasion an apology was made by one of the king's friends, that he never *liked* the lotteries, but gave way to them because he was told, that Virginia could not subsist without them.

Chalmers' Anna. 23.

sexes. He left the government to captain G. Yeardley, during his absence.

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IV.

THE administration of this gentleman, though in many instances inconsistent with just principles of liberty, was certainly productive of much benefit to the colony; and for those measures, which savor of despotism, some allowance ought perhaps to be made from his situation, and the circumstances of the times. He was in fact the agent of a proprietary body, and received the military code, which had justly given so much offence, from the first officer of the London company, with directions to apply it as the sole remedy of the inveterate disorders of the colony. It is generally admitted too, that his exercise of this dangerous power, was marked with forbearance and moderation.

G. Yeardley
governor.
1616.

As a political economist, attentive to those interior considerations, which may be called civil and commercial, his merit is less equivocal. It has been already seen, that during his administration, the mode of trading in common stock was abolished, and the colonists became severally possessed of distinct and exclusive property.

Character
of Dale.

AND such security and prosperity were induced by the vigor and justice of his government, that the old grants, or adventures for land, which entitled every settler in Virginia, for himself, and as many others as he brought over, to one hundred acres of land personal adventure for each, were now altered to fifty; and this alteration had its rise in the opinion, that the country being likely to flourish, and the difficulties of making settlements consequently having become proportionably less, it was no longer necessary or politic to hold out such strong inducements to emigration. 'This,' says Stith, 'is the ancient, legal, and a most indu-

CHAP.
IV.

bitable mode of granting lands in Virginia, and was intended for a great and useful end.

THE encouraging people to come themselves, and to bring or send others over, to inhabit the country ; and that they might, immediately upon their arrival, have a place, whereon to seat themselves and families : And I likewise find, in the old records, that upon peopling and saving these hundred, or fifty acres, (the terms of which I can no where find) they were entitled to the like quantity more, to be held and seated at their leisure. But besides this, there were two other methods in granting lands. The one was upon merit.... When any person had conferred a benefit, or done service, to the company or colony, they would bestow such a proportion of land upon him. However, to prevent excess in this particular, they are restrained by his majesty's letters patent, not to exceed twenty great shares, or two thousand acres in any one of these grants. The other was called the adventure of the purse.... Every person, who paid twelve pounds ten shillings into the company's treasury, having thereby a title to an hundred acres of land, any where in Virginia, that had not been before granted to, or possessed by others.*

ONE other essential improvement was derived from his administration. Before his arrival, the colony depended for a precarious supply of provisions on the capricious temper of the natives ; and when this supply failed, they were reduced, as has been seen, to the extremest distress : But Sir T. Dale sought a supply more plenteous and permanent, in the industry of his people : and so successful were his exertions, *that he in his turn

* Nay, whereas they had formerly been constrained to buy from the Indians yearly, which exposed them to much

became the principal fountain and source of Indian subsistence.

CHAP.
IV.

G. Yeardley
governor.

THE first act of the new administration, was the reduction of the Chickahominies, after a battle in which twelve of this people were slain, and a like number taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were two of their senators, or elders; for whose liberation, a considerable ransom in corn was received; whilst a still larger one was given as the purchase of peace.

It had been happy for this little band of warriors, if their misfortunes had ended here: But it is the fate of freedom to encounter dangers proportioned to its inestimable value. It navigates a tempestuous sea; and though it may escape being swallowed up in its waves, it often founders in the sight of land, by the unskilfulness of the pilot.

OPECHANCAHOUGH, the brother of Powhatan, shrewd, ambitious, and subtle, saw, in the present condition of the Chickahominies, an occasion for executing a project, which had hitherto baffled his utmost ingenuity, added to the force of his brother's power, and the terror of his *name. The means he employed on this occasion, though at first view apparently simple, discover no inconsiderable sagacity; and our surprise is heightened,

scorn and difficulty. The case was so much altered under his management, that the Indians sometimes applied to the English, and would sell the very skins from their shoulders for corn. And to some of their petty kings, Sir Thomas lent four or five hundred bushels; for re-payment whereof next year, he took a mortgage of their whole countries.

Stith, p. 140.

* *Stith.*

CHAP.
IV.

G. Yeardley
governor.
1616.

that the English, with all their boasted experience and refinements, should be selected by the wily savage, as the dupes and instruments of his ambition.

HAVING exacted a *promise from Mr. Yeardley, that nothing definitively should be concluded with the Chickahominies without his consent, he repaired to the head quarters of this people, and assured their chiefs, that his interference alone had saved them from utter destruction. The artifice succeeded: The people with grateful joy proclaimed him their †king; and thus, by the arts of native cunning, assisted by the fatal coincidence of their distresses, was effected, what neither time, nor the colossal power of Powhatan had been able to atchieve.

WHILST these things were transacted in Virginia, Pocahontas, now called the lady Rebecca, had become a subject of curiosity to all descriptions of people in London. Captain Smith, at the time of her arrival, was on the eve of embarking on his second expedition to New-England; but he felt himself bound by gratitude and attachment, to attempt something in favor of his benefactress, previous to his departure. After some deliberation as to the best mode of effecting his purpose, he draughted a petition to the queen, setting down at large the merits of this princess, and her claims on the patronage of her majesty, and the whole English people.

THIS ‡petition, which bears his signature, is

* *Stith.*

† *Ibidem.*

‡ *To the most high and virtuous Princess, Queen Anne of Great-Britain...MOST ADMIRED MADAM.....'The love I bear*

Opechan-
canough de
clared king
of Chicka-
hominies.

CHAP.
IV.

G. Yeardley
governor.
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said to have made a favorable impression on the mind of the queen, which every day gained strength by the modest demeanor and interesting manners of the princess. She had already acquired con-

my God, my king, and church, hath so often emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestly doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present your majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime, if I should omit any means to be thankful. So it was, that about ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquaus ; the manliest, comliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage ; and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate pitiful heart of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus enthralled in their power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want, that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fattening amongst these savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains, to save mine ; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James-Town, where I found about eight and thirty miserable, poor, and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories in Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as had not the savages fed us, we directly had starved. And this relief, most gracious queen, was commonly brought us by the lady Pocahontas : Notwithstanding all those passages, when unconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us ; and by her our fears have been often appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not : But of this I am sure, when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprize me, having but eighteen with me, the dark knight could not affright her from coming through the irk-

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siderable proficiency in the English language ; whilst the original capacity and vigor of her mind, improved by observation, and tempered by softness and sincerity, made her conversation courted

some woods, and with watered eyes, gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury ; which had he seen, he had surely slain her.

James Town, with her wild train, she as freely visited as her father's habitation ; and during the time of two or three years, she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which if in those times, had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain, as it was at our first arrival, till this day. Since then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from what I left it, it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war, since my departure, betwixt her father and our colony....all which time she was not heard of. About two years after, she herself was taken prisoner ; being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England....the first christian ever of that nation ; the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman. A matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered, and well understood, well worthy a prince's information.

Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your majesty what at your best leisure our approved histories will recount to you at large, as done in your majesty's life : And however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart.

As yet I never begged any thing of the state ; and it is my want of ability, and her exceeding deserts ; your birth, means, and authority ; her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself ; her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your majesty.

The most and least I can do, is to tell you this, and the rather of her being of so great a spirit, however her stature. If she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means ; her present love to

by the principal *nobility. In the language of the church, she had become a christian, having exchanged by the mysterious ceremonies of baptism, her Indian name of Pocahontas, for the more modest and gospel one of Rebecca ; while the native elegance of her mind, was delighted at the fortunate transition from the coarse and licentious manners of her former state, to the delicate and decorous restraints of social life. She lived in the midst of refinements unalloyed by the vices, which debase its value, presenting a solitary but honorable example of artificial decency super-added to native virtue.

SUCH, at the court of London, was the princess of Powhatan ; such was she, when captain Smith paid her a visit at Brentford, whither she had retired with her husband, to avoid the smoke and noise of the city. She had been told, (for what purpose history does not inform us) that Smith was dead ; and now seeing him, all at once, in her presence ; overcome by the conflicting emotions of joy, and resentment at the imposition, which had been practised on her, she turned away from him, hiding her face with her hands. After some en-

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Smith visits
Pocahontas
at Brentford

us and christianity, might turn to such scorn and fury, as to divert all this good to the worst of evil ; where finding that so great a queen should do her more honor than she can imagine, for having been kind to her subjects and servants, would so ravish her with content, as to endear her dearest blood to effect, that your majesty and all the king's honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN SMITH.

* She was likewise carried to court by the lady de la War, attended by the lord, her husband, and divers other persons of fashion and distinction.

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treaty, she conquered her emotions, and with a mixture of firmness and tenderness, she addressed him in the following words :

“ You,” said she, “ promised my father, that whatever was yours, should be his, and that you and he would be all one. Being a stranger in our country, you called Powhatan father ; and I for the same reason will now call you so.”

IN vain Smith represented the absurd and jealous *pride of the court, as a reason for declining this grateful and honorable title. She continued in a more elevated tone ;

“ You were not afraid to come into my father’s country, and strike a fear into every body but myself ; and are you here, afraid to let me call you father ? I tell you then I will call you father, and you shall call me child ; and so I will forever be of your kindred and country. They always told us you were dead ; and I knew no otherwise till I came to Plymouth. But Powhatan commanded †Tomocomo to see you, and to know the truth,

* There hath been indeed a constant tradition, that the king became jealous, and was highly offended at Mr. Rolfe, for marrying a princess. That anointed pedant, it seems, had so high an idea of the *jus divinum*, and indefeasible right of Powhatan, that he held it a great crime and misdemeanor, for any private gentlemen to mingle with his imperial blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own principles, that the right to these dominions would, thereby, be vested in Mr. Rolfe’s posterity. However, it passed off, without any farther bad consequences, than a little displeasure and murmuring.

Smith, p. 142.

† This Tomocomo (or Uttamaccornack, as Smith calls him) had Matachanna, one of Powhatan’s daughters, to wife ; was one of the chiefs of his counsel, and of their priests ; and was esteemed a very wise and understanding fellow among them. He was therefore sent upon his voyage, by Powha-

because your country-men are much given to lying."

It is imagined by some philosophers, that the varieties of the human character depend less on

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tan, to take the number of the people in England, and to bring him a full and exact account, of their strength and condition : And accordingly, being arrived at Plymouth, he got a long stick, intending to cut a notch for every one he saw : But he was soon tired with such an endless work, and threw away his stick ; and being asked by the king, after his return, how many people there were ? it is said, that he replied....Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea shore ; for such is the number of the people of England. But Sir Thomas Dale told Mr. Purchas, that he believed him to be sent by Opechancanough, their king and governor in Powhatan's absence and retreat ; and that he was sent, not so much to number the people, as to take an account of their corn and trees : For Nomantack, and such others, as had been sent to England formerly, being ignorant and silly, and having seen little else besides London, had reported much of their men and houses, but thought they had small store of corn and trees. And it was therefore a general opinion among these barbarians, that the English came into their country to get a supply of these ; which might be strengthened and confirmed, by their sending large quantities of cedar clapboard, and wainscot, to England, and by their continual want and eagerness after corn. But Tomocomo, landing in the west, and travelling thence to London, was soon undeceived, and saw great cause to admire the English plenty. However, he began to take an account, until his arithmetic failed him. Meeting capt. Smith accidentally in London, he soon renewed their old acquaintance. He told the captain, that Powhatan had commanded him to find him out, to shew him the English god, their king, queen, and prince ; of which he had told them so much. As to God, captain Smith excused and explained the matter, the best he could ; and as to the king, he told him that he had already seen him, and should see the rest, whenever he pleased. But he denied that he had seen the king, till, by circumstances, he was convinced and satisfied :

A a

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nature, than in the difference in the external circumstances of individuals. It would seem to follow this doctrine, that the external circumstances being infinitely more numerous and varied in society than in the savage state, the uniformity of manners in the latter, arising from the absence of arts and sciences, would induce an almost perfect uniformity of character. Conformably to this theory, the character of one Indian, would be the character of every individual in his tribe. But the character of Powhatan, is no more the character of Opechancanough, than the character of Ulysses, is that of Nestor or Agamemnon; and the feelings and morality of Pocahontas, discover a character so evidently distinct from the rest of her tribe, that a reader unacquainted with circumstances, would be apt to place her birth in some age and nation, where a dawning virtue and amiable simplicity were beginning to prevail.

Character
of Pocahontas.

THE character of this interesting woman, as it stands in the concurrent accounts of all our historians, is not, it is with confidence affirmed, surpassed by any in the whole range of history; and for those qualities more especially, which do honor to our nature; an humane and feeling heart; an ardor and unshaken constancy in her attachments; she stands, almost, without a rival.

At the first appearance of the Europeans, her young heart was impressed with admiration of the

And then, with a melancholy countenance, he said....You gave Powhatan a white dog, which he fed as himself; but your king has given me nothing; yet I am better than your white dog." Such an arch sense had this barbarian, of the stinging treatment, with which he had been received at court.

Smith, p. 142.

persons and manners of the strangers: But it is not during their prosperity, that she displays her attachment....She is not influenced by awe of their greatness, or fear of their resentment, in the assistance she affords them: It was during their severest distresses, when their most celebrated chief was a captive in their hands, and was dragged through the country, as a spectacle for the sport and derision of her people, that she places herself between them and destruction.

THE spectacle of Pocahontas in an attitude of entreaty, with her hair loose, and her eyes streaming with tears, supplicating her enraged father for the life of captain Smith, when he was about to crush the head of his prostrate victim with a club; is a situation equal to the genius of Raphael: And when the royal savage directs his ferocious glance for a moment, from his victim, to reprove his weeping daughter; when softened by her distress, his eye loses its fierceness, and he gives his captive to her tears, the painter will discover a new occasion for exercising his talents.

IN Pocahontas, we have to admire, not the softer virtues only: She is found, when the interest of her friends demands it, full of foresight and intrepidity.

WHEN a conspiracy is planned for the extermination of the English, she eludes the jealous vigilance of her father, and ventures at mid-night, through a thousand perils, to apprize them of their danger.

BUT in no situation, does she appear to more advantage, than when disgusted with the cold formalities of a court, and the impertinent and troublesome curiosity of the people, she addressed the feeling and pathetic remonstrance to captain Smith, on the distant coldness of his manner.... Briefly she stated the rise and progress of their

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friendship : Modestly she pointed out the services, she had rendered him ; concluding with an affecting picture of her situation, at a distance from her country and family, and surrounded by strangers in a strange land.

INDEED, there is ground for apprehension, that posterity in reading this part of American history, will be inclined to consider the story of Pocahontas, as an interesting romance ; perhaps recalling the palpable fictions of early travellers and navigators, they may suppose, that in those times, a portion of fiction was deemed essential to the embellishment of history : It is not even improbable, that, considering every thing relating to captain Smith and Pocahontas as a mere fiction, they may vent their spleen against the historian, for impairing the interest of his plot, by marrying the princess of Powhatan to a Mr. Rolfe, of whom nothing had previously been said, in defiance of all the expectations raised by the foregoing parts of the fable.

It is the last sad office of history to record the fate of this incomparable woman. The severe muse, who presides over this department, cannot plant the cypress over her grave, and consign her to the tomb with the stately pomp and graceful tears of poetry : She cannot with pious sorrow inurn the ashes and immortalize the virtues of the dead by the soul piercing elegy, which fancy mysterious deity, pours out, wild and plaintive ; her hair loose, and her white bosom throbbing with anguish : Those things are placed equally beyond her reach and her inclination. But history affects not to conceal her sorrow on this occasion.

Her death.

SHE died at Gravesend, where she was preparing to embark with her husband and son, on her return to Virginia. Every thing had been done

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for the *accommodation of this interesting family during the voyage, and in order that the state and figure of her husband might bear some proportion to the quality of the princess, he was made secretary or recorder general, a place, which appears to have been created expressly for the occasion. Her death was a happy mixture of Indian fortitude and christian submission, affecting all those, who saw her, by the lively and edifying picture of piety and virtue, which marked her latter moments.

* With these views and powers, was captain Argall fitted out, and sent to Virginia, in the beginning of one thousand six hundred and seventeen. And the treasurer and council took care, for the proper accommodation of Pocahontas and her husband on board the admiral ship. Mr. Rolfe was also made secretary and recorder general of Virginia, which place was now first instituted. But it pleased God, at Gravesend, to take Pocahontas to his mercy, in about the two and twentieth year of her age. Her unexpected death caused not more sorrow and concern in the spectators, than her religious end gave them joy and surprise; for she died, agreeably to her life, a most sincere and pious christian. Her little son, Thomas Rolfe, was left at Plymouth, with Sir Lewis Steukley, who desired the care and education of him. This gentleman was then vice-admiral of the county of Devon; but soon after, having seized Sir Walter Raleigh, and been guilty of a notable piece of treachery towards him, he drew upon himself the public scorn and detestation: For however hard or unjust kings and statesmen may be to those of their age, who are of the most eminent parts and virtues, the public is generally more candid in its judgments, and apt to resent every hardship or ill usage to such men. Sir Lewis Steukley therefore fell unpitied, when he was afterwards detected in corrupt practices; for which he was obliged to purchase his life at the expence of his whole fortune, and at last died a poor, despised, and distracted beggar. And as these misfortunes happened soon after this time, it is not to be supposed that young Mr. Rolfe long enjoyed the advantage of his favor and kind intentions.

Stith, p. 145.

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THE tender years of the younger Rolfe, thus bereft of the necessary care and attention of his mother, suggested the expediency of leaving him in England, until his strength enabled him to bear the fatigues of a sea voyage. He was educated by his uncle Henry Rolfe, of London, and afterwards he became a man of fortune and eminence in Virginia. "He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to colonel Robert Bolling; by whom she had an only son, the late major John Bolling, who was father to colonel John Bolling, and several daughters, married to colonel Richard Bolling, colonel John Fleming, doctor William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. So that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now encreased and branched out into a very numerous *progeny."

THE virtues of mildness and humanity so eminently distinguished in Pocahontas, remain in the nature of an inheritance to her posterity. None of them has been conspicuous in arts or arms: No great statesman, or consummate general has issued from the loins of Powhatan, since his imperial blood has mingled with the whites: But then, there is scarcely a single scion from the stock, which has not been in the highest degree amiable and respectable; and for the want of the more showy and imposing qualifications, we must principally look to the affluent circumstances of the family, which generally take away the motive to exertion and enterprize. The author of this history is acquainted with several members of this family, who are intelligent, and even eloquent; and who, if fortune do but keep pace with their me-

* *Stith.*

rits, should nor despair of attaining a conspicuous and even exalted station in the commonwealth.

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IT is difficult to assign a reason for the profound silence of Hume on all matters relating to the settlement of Virginia. The appearance of the princess of Powhatan at the court of London is an incident, which in the hands of Gibbon or Livy, would have enlivened at once by its singularity and the art of the historian: Yet Hume passes it by without the slightest notice.

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Hume's si-
lence on Vir-
ginia affairs

THIS omission certainly could not have arisen from an idea, that the subject was beneath the dignity of history: The growth and origin of their colonies were considered by the Greek historians, as meriting a special and pointed attention; and this subject always in itself interesting, had acquired in those times, additional claims by the discovery of a world unknown to the ancients, and the vast riches imported into Europe from those countries, which by raising the price of all commodities and provisions, and by a proportional encrease in arts and industry and elegance in every enjoyment of life, produced a sort of revolution in the habits and manners of *Europe.

It is true, no rich mines had been discovered in North America: The discoveries of the British held out few inducements, but for patient industry and rational enterprize. But these defects were more than compensated by a rich soil and salubrious climate; and by the spirit of freedom, which improving on the English model, began early to display itself in those wild and distant possessions.

IN two instances only has Hume noticed the affairs of Virginia: Once when speaking of Drake's

* *Hume, vol. IV, p. 230.*

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*visit to Roanoke, once in his †appendix to the reign of James; and in both with such lightness, if not obscurity, that posterity without other helps will be able to understand little of the subject.

THE settlement of Virginia, independent of its value as an object of national importance, was patronized by those eminent and conspicuous characters in English history, whom this historian delights to honor, as the authors and champions of English liberty; and some attention was due to the opinions of his favorites; to that of the king and of the whole English people, who on this occasion, united their vows and wishes for the safety of this first attempt at colonization; and who fondly hoped, that in the future greatness of those countries, an equipoise would be found for the enormous weight of Austrian power, and the dangerous disproportion of Catholic strength.

BUT this historian's omissions, are not confined to Virginia and New England: They extend to several other subjects of acknowledged dignity, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James.... No statistical account is given of the navy during those reigns: and little is mentioned of those important relations and connections, which subsisted between England, and the nations of the continent.

It is not meant to be objected to Mr. Hume, that this neglect proceeded from indolence, still less from incompetence. Had he possessed talents less splendid, he had probably inserted every fact, and omitted those interesting reflections on almost every subject, with which his work abounds; and which evince his deep knowledge

* *Hume's Eng.* vol. IV. p. 32. † *Ibidem*, p. 33.

of the human character, and the metaphysical acuteness and vigor of his genius.

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THE dispute in those reigns between the monarchs and parliaments, was a subject of such magnitude, that inferior events are either slightly touched, or totally disregarded by him; so that, as a mere annalist, Hume is exceeded by several English writers, who are very far behind him in capacity and talents.

CAPTAIN Argall arrived in May, bringing with him Tomocomo. This Indian had conceived a dislike against the English, in consequence of some supposed slight or affront; and he now labored to inspire Opechancanough with similar impressions: But this prince, charmed with the presents, which had been brought to him by Argall, affected to be convinced by his arguments, that Tomocomo was undeserving credit.

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*POWHATAN had retired from public life, leaving the administration to his brothers. He received the relation of his daughter's death with unfeigned regret: But his grief gradually abated, whilst he listened to the flattering accounts of the good health and engaging qualities of his grandson.

THIS year came to close, without any other in-

* 10th March, 1617.....Powhatan goes from place to place, visiting his country, taking his pleasure in good friendship with us; laments his daughter's death, but is glad her child is living; so doth Opechancanough: Both want to see him; but desire he may be stronger before he returns.

Governor and council's letters to company.

MS. Penes me.

The same letters mention a great mortality among the English and Indians, and a murrain among the deer.

B b

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Capt Argall
deputy gov-
ernor.
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cident worthy of relation, if we except a discovery by a Mr. Lambert, in the mode of curing *tobacco.

DOCTOR †Priestley judiciously observes, that the moral condition of any people, may be accurately collected from their laws; and often indeed, as in the present case, it is not possible to collect it from other, or better sources. The first records of colonists are generally, obscurely stated, and negligently kept; and for the most material incidents, we are often left to conjecture. The substance of certain edicts published this year by the deputy governor, will elucidate this position, while it exhibits more forcibly than any description, the melancholy want of civil and political security in Virginia.

AFTER the usual preface, it commands, 'that all goods should be sold at twenty-five per cent. and tobacco allowed for at three shillings per pound, and not under, nor over, on the penalty of three years slavery to the colony: That there should be no private trade or familiarity with the savages: That no Indian should be taught to shoot with guns, on pain of death to the teacher and learner: That no person should hunt deer or hogs, without the governor's leave: That all hogs, found a second time in James-Town, should be forfeited to the colony; and those at Bermudas, ringed: That no man should shoot, except in his own necessary defence against an enemy, till a new supply of ammunition came in, on pain of a

* For the method of curing tobacco then was in heaps; but this gentleman found out, that it cured better on lines.

Stith, 147.

† *Lectures on Hist.* p. 66-7.

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year's slavery: That none should go on board the ship, then at James-Town, without the governor's leave; and that no masters of ships should suffer their sailors to go on shore, or talk with the people at Kickotan: That every person should go to church, Sundays and holidays, or lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony the following week; for the second offence, he should be a slave for a month; and for the third, a year and a *day.'

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THESE edicts, founded on the martial code sent over by Sir T. Smith, and put in force by Sir T. Dale, appear to have possessed the mysterious and destructive effect of a royal proclamation, when the prerogative was undefined; and it does not appear that any appeal from the tyrannical decision was admitted.

CAPTAIN Argall had witnessed the operation of those sanguinary laws, during the administration of Sir T. Dale; and they were calculated at this time, to support his rapacity and injustice.... He had lately converted the public property of the colony, to his sole use and benefit: Nor did he seem to pay greater respect to the private estates of absent proprietors. The case of captain Brewster, is a striking and memorable instance of the application and subserviency of those laws to the private views and interest of the tyrant. Captain Argall had taken the servants of Lord de la War from his estate, for the purpose of employing them on his own grounds, without any order or direction from that nobleman. Captain Brewster, to whom it appears this trust or direction had actually been given, was "anxious to employ them for their own maintenance, and the benefit of the heirs

Case of
Brewster.

* Stith, 147.

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ernor.
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He is con-
demned to
death.

of his lordship." A flat refusal having been given by one of these servants, who was commanded by Brewster to return, he threatened him with the consequences of his contumacy. The threat was borne to captain Argall; and Brewster was immediately apprehended on a charge of uttering seditious words against his commander, tending to breed disorder or mutiny; and condemned by the sentence of a court martial to lose his *life.

PERHAPS the whole annals of tyranny contain no decision more ridiculous or wicked: The remaining part of this transaction perfectly corresponds with the foregoing.

THE pardon of Brewster was obtained with much difficulty from the tyrant, by the prudent and penitent intercession of his judges, on the single and express condition however, "that he solemnly pledged himself on oath, that he should never return to Virginia; or directly or indirectly in England, or elsewhere, utter any contemptuous words, or do any thing else that should turn to the dishonor or disparagement of captain †Argall.

* The legality of this proceeding, was founded on an article of the martial laws of the Low Countries, introduced among those articles, sent over by Sir Thomas Smith. This decreed, "That no man should offer any violence to, or contemptuously resist or disobey his commander, or do any act, or speak any words, which might tend to create disorder or mutiny, in the town or field, or disobey any principal officers' directions, upon pain of death."

Smith, p. 162.

† But some of the court, reflecting on the extreme severity of these martial laws; and being also moved perhaps by the particular hardship and unrighteousness of the present case, prevailed on the rest, to go in a body, and intercede for

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He appeals.

BUT an oath extorted under such circumstances, could not keep down the rage of indignant feeling. Brewster, on his return, appealed from the tyrannical decision in Virginia, to the company in London; enflaming every bosom to which he addressed himself, with indignation and abhorrence against the wicked and tyrannical prefect. It is happily the fate of persecution to destroy itself; and the most violent and frantic excesses, may be considered as the decisive symptoms of its decay and dissolution: There is a certain point, beyond which no tyranny can extend.... This point is at a greater or lesser distance, in the exact ratio of the light and discussion prevailing among nations.

THE code of Sir T. Smith, and the excesses of Argall, by the discussions they gave birth to, may be said to have accelerated the dawn of freedom and good government in the colony. Indeed it is scarcely permitted us to doubt on this occasion, when we find the successor of Argall proclaiming, by order of the company in London, the full and absolute right of the planters to the lands they occupied, according to the laws of England; and their indefeasible right, as Englishmen, to a representation in their government.

WHAT but the frantic excesses of Argall, and the stern severity of Dale, could have produced an effect so sudden and miraculous. The work of reform, in ordinary cases, is slow: Its labors, like those of the mole, are compelled to secrecy and silence; it is only by some violent shock that it is

captain Brewster's life. And being also joined by such of the clergy, as were at hand, they did, with much entreaty, and after many repulses and allegations of captain Argall, at last prevail to save his life.

Stith, p. 158.

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Lord de la
War invited
over.

His death.

electrized at once, into quick impulse, and vigorous progression.

To heal those wounds of the colony, Lord de la War was called for by the unanimous voice of the adventurers,

BUT this nobleman having *died during his voyage, at the mouth of †Delaware bay, which bears his name; Argall became possessed in virtue of his office of deputy, of all the letters and instructions addressed to the governor, from which he collected the indignation of the company against his enormities, and their commands for his speedy appearance in England. These letters appear to have produced no ‡other effect, than to have stimulated his rapacity: And the outrage on Brewster took place after he had possessed himself of those papers.

IT is difficult to account for this hardihood and effrontery, unless we believe with Stith, that he was supported by a powerful ||party in the com-

* Camden tells us, that he had been feasted at the Western Islands, and that his death was not without suspicion of poison: And I think I have some where seen, that he died about the mouth of Delaware bay, which thence took its name from him. But being not able now to recollect the authority, I shall leave it, as I found it, and not venture positively to affirm it.

Stith, p. 148.

† *Purchas....Keith, 130.*

‡ For my Lady de la War complains, that he wrongfully took some of her goods from her late husband's servants, without rendering any account of them.

Stith, p. 151.

|| Captain Argall, a friend and relation of Sir T. Smith, the treasurer, was one of Lord Rich's greatest friends and favorites. His lordship therefore, having concerted matters with him, and entered into partnership, procured him to be elected deputy governor of Virginia.

Stith, p. 145.

pany, who, preferring private interest to the public good, shared in the frauds, which they countenanced : And the impunity with which this mischievous tyrant afterwards appeared in England, and even in the *meetings of the London company, appears to countenance this opinion.

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THE Chickahominies had again violated the peace, and were guilty of several murders, of which complaints were made to Opechancanough : But whether it was, that his precarious authority over this people, did not permit him to render satisfaction ; or, what is more probable, that he had himself instigated them to those outrages, the better to strengthen and confirm his authority over them ; nothing was at present done in this business.

THIS year died, the emperor Powhatan, at an advanced age ; the greater part of which was passed in what, is generally termed glory and good fortune. In the cant of civilization, he will doubtless be branded with the epithets of tyrant and barbarian : But his title to greatness, although his opportunities were fewer, is to the full as fair as that of Tamerlane or Kowli Khan and several others, whom history has immortalized as conquerors ; while the proofs of his tyranny are by no means so clear and unequivocal.

Death of
Powhatan.

BORN to a slender patrimony, in the midst of numerous tribes, more subtle than the Arabs of the desert, and whose independence spurned even the shadow of restraint ; he contrived, by his valor and address, to unite them in one firm and indissoluble union under his power and authority ;

His character.

* One Richard Killinbeck, this summer, by attempting a secret trade with the Indians, was, together with his whole company, slain by a party of Chickahominies.

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Capt Argall
deputy gov-
ernor.
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giving his name to the new empire, which his wisdom had erected, and which continued to flourish under his auspices and direction.

As a warrior, bold, skilful, and enterprizing, he was confessedly without rival or competitor; inspiring with respect or terror, even the formidable enemies, who dared to make head against his encroachments. The powerful confederacy of the Manakins and Manahoacks, and the more distant inhabitants of the lakes, heard the name of Powhatan with uneasiness and alarm.

At the coming of the English, he had reached the advanced age of sixty years; and enjoyed in the bosom of his family, the fruits of his long and glorious exertions. The spectacle of men, who came from beyond the sea, in floating and winged houses, and who fought with thunder and lightnings, could not fail to strike him by its grandeur and novelty: The intent of the strangers appeared at first view to be friendly; and he received them with courtesy: But his sagacious mind quickly developed the motives, and foresaw the consequences of their arrival. He looked forward with regret to a renewal of his labors; and at the age of sixty, he resolved to fight over again, the battles of his youth.

He might have lived in peace: He was aware of the superiority of his new enemy in the machines and instruments of battle; as well as in their discipline and experience: But those cold calculations vanished before his sense of honor and independence. Age could not chill the ardor of his heroic bosom.

In the private circle of his family, who appears to greater advantage than Powhatan? What affection for his brothers; how delicate and considerate his regard for his children; what moderation and pity does he not manifest towards captain

Smith, when subdued by the tears of Pocahontas, and touched perhaps with compassion for the bravery and misfortunes of his captive, he consented to spare his life.

POWHATAN comes before us, without any of those mortifying and abasing circumstances, which in the eye of human respect diminish the lustre of reputation: History records no violence offered to his person; no insulting language used in his presence. Opechancanough had been dragged by the hair, at the head of hundreds of Indians; but never, had the majesty of Powhatan been violated by personal insult. Stith says indeed, that once, whilst his women parleyed with captain Smith, he escaped by the back door: This however is only conjecture, and if true, still no one saw him fly....No; never did his enemies look upon the back of Powhatan.

IN all disputes and conferences with the English, he never once forgets that he is a monarch; never permits others to forget it: "If your king," said he to Smith, "has sent me presents, *I too am a king, and I am in my own land.*" No matter who the person is, whom the partiality of the historian may think proper to distinguish as his hero; we never lose sight of the manly figure and venerable majesty of the Indian hero: He is always the principal figure in the group; and in his presence, even the gallant and adventurous Smith, is obliged to play a second part; and all others are forgotten.

OWING to that obscurity in which unhappily every thing relating to this people is involved, we know little of the dawn of Powhatan's glory; little of his meridian: Those particular traits, which would have enabled us accurately to esti-

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mate the character and capacity of his mind, have felt the fate of oral record and remembrance : The exploits of his youth and his manhood have perished, for the want of a poet or historian : We saw him only for a short time, on the edge of the horizon : But from the brightness of his departing beams, we can easily think what he was, in the blaze of his fame.

IF we view him as a statesman, a character, which has been thought to demand a greater comprehension and variety of talents, where shall we find one, who merited in a higher degree, the palm of distinction and eminence ? 'Tis true, the theatre of his administration was neither wide, nor conspicuous : He is not set off by the splendid machinery of palaces and courtiers glittering with gold and precious stones ; or the costly equipage of dress : He had no troops in rich uniform ; he had no treasury ; he maintained no ambassadors at foreign courts. Powhatan must be viewed as he stands, in relation to the several Indian nations of Virginia. To judge him by European ideas of greatness, would be the climax of injustice and absurdity. Some likeness may indeed be discovered between him and the frugal simplicity of those Arab conquerors, who overthrew the colossal fabric of the Roman empire.

THIS year, captain Argall returned to Europe, having left the government to captain N. Powell, one of the first settlers.

HIS precipitate retreat from the colony, is said to have been occasioned by letters from his friend and partner the earl of Warwick, formerly lord Rich, acquainting him with the appointment of a new governor, invested with full powers to enquire into his offences on the spot. Sir George Yeardley arrived a short time after his departure,

Sir G. Yeardley,
governor.

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bringing with him a new charter, which defined the powers of the government, and put the colonists once more under the protection of the laws of *England. The principal charter, containing the plan of a representative body, does not appear among the †records of the company. It is natural however, to infer, that the house of burgesses, which sat and deliberated the ensuing year, was in exact conformity to the instructions of this charter.

THE assurance of freedom and security, introduced the concomitant blessings of industry and peace. Six new members were added to the council. The old settlements, which had been deserted through fear of the Indians, were re-established, and the population of the colony increased, by the arrival of one thousand new settlers with an abundant supply of provisions, and all other necessaries. To crown these blessings, the governor issued his orders for calling an assembly, which, according to ‡Stith, held its deliberations this year at James Town. This body consisted of “two burgesses, chosen for every town, hundred, and plantation, by the inhabitants, to decide ||conjointly with the governor and council, by the greatest majority of voices on all matters of concern relating to the colony.”

* Soon after, Sir George published his intention of holding a general assembly in a short time, which I suppose was one of their chief privileges and powers, granted and sent over with him. *Stith, p. 158.*

† Two large folio volumes, MS. penes me.

‡ Beverley makes this event happen the following year.

|| These burgesses met the governor and council at James

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A NEGATIVE was reserved to the governor, and they were generally instructed "to imitate the policy, form of government, laws, customs, manner of trial, and other administration of justice, used in England. But no law or ordinance, though approved of by all three members of the legislature, was to be in force, until it was ratified in England by a general court of the company, and returned under its seal."

THIS rude and hasty sketch of a constitution, or form of government, is copied from the company's charter and instructions, to *Sir T. Wyatt, the successor of Yeardley ; and it is natural to suppose, that it does not materially differ from the original instrument.

As an instrument of detail, it is manifestly crude and imperfect : It does not mark with sufficient clearness, or define with sufficient nicety the functions of the several departments, and the bounds of their authority : We find not that distinct se-

Town, in May, 1620, and sat in consultation in the same house with them, as the method of the Scots parliament is.

Beverley, p. 35.

In pursuance of the authorities given to the company by these charters, and more especially of that part of the charter of 1609, which authorised them to establish a form of government, they on the 24th of July, 1621, by charter under their common seal, declared that from thence forward there should be two supreme councils in Virginia, the one to be called the council of state, to be placed and displaced by the treasurer, council in England, and company, from time to time, whose office was to be that of assisting and advising the governor ; the other to be called the general assembly, to be convened by the governor once yearly or oftener, which was to consist of the council of state, and two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or plantation, to be respectively chosen by the inhabitants.

Jefferson, p. 162.

* See appendix.

paration of executive, legislative and judicial powers; nor those cautious and wholesome provisions, suggested and sanctioned by experience: Yet this chaos contained within itself, the elements of political order and beauty; and it required but the spirit of enquiry, to move over it, to produce a creation magnificent and beautiful.

THE reform in Virginia was attended by a similar one in the London councils. The tyranny of Argall had produced an agitation in the minds of the adventurers, which was not to subside, but by the removal of the several grounds of dislike and uneasiness. Sir T. Smith was the kinsman of Argall, and he had for some time fallen under the imputation of embezzling the property of the company, as well as of abetting the excesses of his relative; and the revolution, which had taken place in the laws, government, and opinions of the colonists, left him no hope of silencing the disaffected, by the terrors of his favorite code, or of deceiving his fellow adventurers, by the specious language of feigned simplicity and frankness. He saw the storm, which gathered over him, and prudently withdrew from its fury.

SIR E. Sandys, a man at once of genius and of business, was appointed by a large majority to succeed to the office of treasurer; and the hopes of all being revived by an appointment, which united talents with authority, and dignity with mildness, they proceeded with zeal and effect in forwarding the glory and prosperity of the enterprise.

Sir E. Sandys, treasurer.

THE reform in the London councils, was manifested in various ingenious and sensible projects for the advancement of the colony. By their direction, lands were allotted for a college or uni-

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versity, at Henrico, for the *company in several places, and for †glebes; and several new settlements were formed on James and York rivers..., while ingenuity and knowledge were displayed in several branches of arts and ‡manufactures.

THIS year was crowded with incidents: One hundred dissolute persons, at the express command of his majesty, delivered by his marshal, were sent over as servants, much to the dissatisfaction and inconvenience of the company, who were obliged instantly, at the positive urgency of the king, to hire ships at an advanced premium.

At the instance and advice of the treasurer, one hundred ||virgins were sent over as wives, for the purpose of fixing to the soil, the roving and inconstant spirits of the colonists.

* Two gentlemen were sent over as deputies from the company, for the management of their lands, and those of the college.

Beverley, p. 36.

† For they had ordered, that an hundred acres of land in each of the boroughs, to be laid off for a glebe, and that there should, for their certain maintenance, be raised a certain revenue, out of the profits of each parish, so as to make every living, at least two hundred pounds.

‡ A salt work was set up at Cape Charles, on the Eastern Shore; and an iron work at Falling creek, on James river.

Beverley.

|| That such of these maids as were married to the public farmers, should be transported at the company's expence; but if they were married to others, that then those, who took them to wife, should repay the company their charges of transportation.

Stith, 166.

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Sir E. Sandys treasurer, 1620.

New encroachment of the king.

THE arbitrary conduct of the king, with regard to the persons ordered for transportation, was followed by one equally flagrant and unjust, respecting tobacco, contrary to the plain and express words of their *charter, which exempted them from all custom and subsidy for twenty one years, excepting only five per cent. upon all such goods, &c. "as should be imported into England," &c. The Spanish tobacco, which generally brought eighteen shillings the pound, and tobacco of Virginia, which was sold at three, were fixed by the financial logic of the farmers of the customs, at an average ratio of ten shillings the pound; while with a consequence perfectly consistent with the premises, a duty of six pence the pound was demanded on the whole.

THIS oppression was aggravated by the conduct of one Jacob, the farmer of the customs, a being of a most rapacious and servile spirit.

It is not easy to discover whether this arbitrary procedure arose from the king's avowed partiality to the interests of Spain, or his antipathy to the article in question, the use of which he labored to discourage by every means in his power.

INDEPENDENT of any such motives, there was in this king a native propensity to tyranny, which will justify the harshest imputation on this occasion. He saw the colony flourish under the direction of a company of citizens, the forms and spirit of whose proceedings were republican: And the royal pedant, who believed in the divine right and nature of monarchy, was piqued at the prosperity and vigor, displayed by a government mere-

* 23d May, 1609....See general appendix.

† *Stith*, 162.

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ly human. He was moreover offended, perhaps by the resistance opposed to his slightest encroachments, by the leaders of the London company, many of whom, being also members of either house of parliament, were conspicuous in the *van of opposition.

THE spirit of those times, and possibly the distinct spirit of the political parties, may be collected from two decisions in the case of Brewster.... The preceding year, the friends of Argall, with the earl of Warwick at their head, decided, "that trial by martial law, was the noblest kind of trial, being judged by soldiers, and men of the sword." The other, which was had at a general and extraordinary meeting of the London company, may, it is imagined, be taken with safety as the opinion of the company, of the opposition in parliament, and in some degree, as the sense and spirit of the nation.

Success of
Brewster's
appeal.

THIS meeting, with only one dissenting voice, pronounced the trial by martial law, in times of peace, as a wicked and illegal stretch of power, inconsistent with the spirit of true liberty, and utterly repugnant to the laws of England, and the letter of the Virginia charters; whilst, with a spirit of justice, in strict consonance to this preamble, Brewster was freed from the disabilities and disgrace incurred by the decision of Argall.

THESE circumstances, when separately examined, may be estimated as of slight and inferior importance: To the reflecting observer, however, they ought to be counted as so many steps in the ascending scale of improvement. They are the stages by which the philosopher will note

* *Hume's Eng.*

the march of the human mind both, in England and America.

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May, 1620.

THE representatives of eleven boroughs met the governor and council this year at James Town; and the council was increased by the addition of seven new members. The energies of the adventurers, unshackled by the fears of oppression, and emboldened by the full security afforded to persons and property, manifested the wisdom of the change in their political condition, by a constant and well directed industry, which whilst it enriched themselves, advanced the interest and honor of the establishment.

TOBACCO, a nauseous weed, which, according to some writers, was first discovered in the island of Tobago, had by accident, or design become the staple of the country; and with this article the colonists not only stocked the English market, but had *opened a trade for it with Holland, and established warehouses in Middleburg and Flushing.

THE king, notwithstanding he professed on all occasions the most marked dislike and †aversion to this commodity, and had even labored to write it into disrepute, did not see with indifference the diversion of a part of his revenue into foreign states,

* *Robertson's Posthumous*, vol. 4, *Am. His.* 212. †

† For that Solomon of England thought it 'not below his royal wisdom to write a treatise entitled *A Counter Blast to Tobacco*.

Stith, 183.

In this curious work, he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit; and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner.

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Arbitrary
conduct of
the king res-
pecting to-
bacco.

by the trade of the colonists. In vain the petition of the colonists, and the remonstrance of the company, attempted to soften or remove the obduracy of the monarch. Their deputies had to encounter the stern denial of justice from the privy council, in addition to the frowns and insolence of *office. They were ordered to bring all their tobacco into England, in despite of their privileges as Englishmen, and the plain letter of their †charter.

Mr. Robertson has confounded this with a previous encroachment on the rights of the company, and erroneously supposes it to be the first attempt of this nature. This confusion has given birth to another mistake, viz. that the company were successful in their opposition. In their dispute with Jacob, they were indeed apparently victors; a restoration of their tobacco having been ordered by the privy council: But they had incurred much damage by the delay, and the loss of a seasonable market. In the latter case, the interdict of the king and council, hung over them like a spectre, chilling their ardor, and repressing their enterprise; an interdict which they might indeed, and did evade, but which they dared not openly resist.

Thus gradually did the hoof of encroachment advance on the rights of the company, occasionally, maintaining its ground or receding, as the opposition was vigorous or feeble. But these were

* And the deputy and committee, appointed to attend their lordships, offering some reasons, they were told, that they were not to dispute at that board, but to obey.

Stith, 203.

† See General Appendix.

intended merely as experiments, to try the spirit and temper of the company. The time was not yet ripe for the execution of the grand project ; and the tyrant did not disdain to fill up the interval with all the arts of low intrigue and miserable artifice, to effect the object, which at all hazards, he was determined finally to accomplish.

A VACANCY in the 'office of treasurer having taken place by the resignation of Sir E. Sandys, the king attempted to influence the company in their choice of a successor : But their good sense easily detected the views of the court ;.... whilst their pride revolted against the indecent and impudent interference.

THE earl of Southampton was elected to this important office, by a large majority, in opposition to the candidate nominated by the court. The king indeed pretended that his nomination was not intended to bar or influence the free suffrages of the company ; but the motives of this procedure were clearly understood....it was obviously his intent to form a nucleus of division and discontent in the bosom of the establishment, which would leave it, palsied and incapable of opposition, at the mercy of the crown.

THIS year was remarkable for the introduction of negro slaves into the colony, an evil, than which none can be conceived more portentous and afflictive. A Dutch ship bound homeward from the coast of Guinea, sold *twenty of this wretched race to the colonists. Accustomed to breathe the fiery atmosphere of the torrid zone, it was imagined the form and temperature of this people, fitted them peculiarly for the indurance of labor in hot climates ; and their color or complexion is thought

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Sir G. Yeardley governor, 1620.

Earl of Southampton treasurer.

Origin of negro slaves in Virginia.

* *Beverley's Virg.* p. 51.

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SirYeard-
ley gover-
nor, 1620.

to come in aid of this conjecture. Indolence and avarice found little difficulty in straining this hypothesis into a complete justification of this infamous traffic. The negroes were the descendants of the murderer Cain; a race which the just wrath of God had consigned to bondage. In vain has anatomy opposed to this conclusion, the exact correspondence and conformity, even to the minutest fibre, between the bodies of the African and the European: In vain does philosophy object the abstracting capacity of the negro; whilst experience records a thousand instances of strong intellectual vigor, of ardent and generous attachment, of lively gratitude and sincere piety in individuals of this people.... Avarice and ambition have no ears or bowels to be affected by such considerations.

For the honor of the people of this state, it should not be concealed, that they do not pretend to justify this traffic. They consider it an evil of the most serious and afflicting nature; to which they profess an entire willingness to apply a remedy, whenever it shall appear safe or practicable: They are, with few exceptions too, humane and liberal masters; and I am satisfied, from observations made during a residence of several years within the state, that the first loss to be sustained by an emancipation, is not the greatest bar to this desirable *object.

* This unfortunate difference of color, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature, are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question, "What further is to be done with them?" join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans, emancipation re-

How they are to be disposed of afterwards, is the question of real difficulty ; a question, which the real friends of reform themselves, in the present circumstances of the world, find it not easy to answer.

BEFORE we close the transactions of this year, it will not be improper to notice the establishment of the first English colony in North Virginia. This colony consisted of those men, who after the reformation, dissented from the doctrines and forms of the established church. The intolerance and severity of the ecclesiastical *law, and the more than inquisitorial vigilance of its court, had compelled numbers of this sect to fly into Holland, where they had formed a congregation, under the pastoral guidance of a Mr. Robinson, a dissenting clergyman of piety and learning. After a residence of near twelve years, application was made by agents appointed by them, to the Virginia company in London, for permission to emigrate, under the protection of a royal grant, for liberty

quired but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us, a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.

Jefferson, p. 213-14.

* The court of high commission, was another jurisdiction still more terrible, both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to the more simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by these courts, were frequent the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy, for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics in England.

Hume, vol. 4. Ap. to Eliz. p. 166.

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of conscience. It appears that the company's answer was in the highest degree *favorable ; and although toleration under the great seal was denied them, as a measure which tended to scandalize the decent and pious spirit of uniformity, the king promised to connive at their religious practices.

WITH this encouragement, the agents departed ; and on their arrival in Holland, preparations for their emigration immediately commenced, and were completed in two years, by the aid and support of the company in London.

A PART only of Robinson's flock went over at first, to prepare the way for their fellows ; and according to agreement, as the greater number remained in Holland, Mr. Robinson remained with them ; while the emigrants were dispatched under the spiritual and military guidance of Brewster, an elder of acknowledged piety and talents.

THEY arrived at Cape Cod, a name, as stated above, which had been given to a head-land in Massachusetts, in that part of North-America, to which captain Smith in his map, had given the name of New-England.

PREVIOUSLY to their going on shore, they formed themselves into an †association or body

* *Hubard.*

† A patent was obtained, under the company's seal, making over certain territories in the neighborhood of Hudson's river... but having determined to settle in this quarter, some form of government was thought necessary.

The master had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West-India company, if he would not carry them to Hudson river.

Belknap....who quotes the memorial of secretary Morton, p. 61.

Owing to some factions excited by the servants, it was thought proper to resort to natural law, and construct a form of government.

Ibidem.

politic, under the crown of England, for the purpose of framing just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, to which forty one names were subscribed. They made choice of a place for settlement, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth; the right of soil being previously purchased from the natives, with a spirit of justice and probity, consistent with the precepts of the gospel, and the whole tenor of their lives.

NEXT to the establishment at James Town, this was the first successful attempt of the English in America; and from this germ, has sprung that portion of the American confederacy, known by the name of New-England; comprising the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

THE first settlers at Plymouth, transmit to us a curious and melancholy account of Indian calamities, which pursued this singular people for more than three years preceding the arrival of the English. A bloody war, in the first place, spread its flames and devastation among the numerous tribes which inhabit those vast regions; carried on with such ruthless ferocity, that the race was menaced with extinction: Whilst this formidable evil was at its height, a pestilence of a nature the most fatal and hopeless, marked by symptoms as afflicting and disgusting, as the plague of Athens, started up as the rival of war in the work of destruction. Famine completed what had been left unfinished by war and pestilence: The accounts of the Indians state, that not a twentieth man survived those *disasters.

* This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

Belknap's Life Carver, 213.

[illegible]

CHAPTER V.

Sir G. Yeardley having expressed a wish to resign, Sir T. Wyatt is appointed governor. Low ebb of the company's treasury. Motion of captain Smith for remedying this evil. Important change in the administration of justice. Quarter sessions established. New governor arrives. The new charter and body of instructions. Session of the assembly. Spirit of freedom in the English parliament. Origin of the court and country parties. Arrest of the patriotic members by the king. Connection between those proceedings and the affairs of the colony. Inferior courts established. Observations on the Indians, in their relation with the English. Rooted hatred of this people—to what causes owing. Conspiracy under their leader Opechancanough—its amazing secrecy and extent. Fatal security of the English. The English settlements are attacked at the same hour. Massacre of the colonists—they are saved from utter ruin by the information of a converted Indian Chanco. Bloody and exterminating war between the Indians and whites. Account of massacre causes much uneasiness in England. The king promises to make good the loss by a supply of men and arms—but does not perform his promise. New attempts of the king to oppress the company. Sir Lionel Cranfield—his project of an exclusive patent—his insincerity and rapacity. Company agree to accept the patent.

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Debates concerning the officers to be appointed under the exclusive patent. Mr. Wrote—his riotous proceedings in the quarter courts—contrasted with his former modest deportment—associates with the faction of the earl of Warwick. Petition of alderman Johnson. Nathaniel Butler—his unmasked state of Virginia. Both papers presented to the king. Object of those papers—company's answer—colony's answer. Petition of the company to the king—to the parliament. King requires the company to surrender their charter—they refuse—their books and papers seized by order of privy council. A writ of quo warranto issued against company. Trial in the king's bench, and dissolution of the company. Recapitulation.

CHAPTER V.

SIR G. Yeardley having expressed a wish to resign, Sir T. Wyatt was appointed to this office, at the recommendation of the earl of Southampton. The treasury of the company was at this time at so low an ebb, that money was wanting to defray even the ordinary transportation of provisions and settlers, independant of the governor's outfit. This necessity gave rise to a curious motion of captain Smith, who after so long an absence, appears again on the theatre of Virginia politics.... After a brief exordium, in which he stated that the old channels through which the colony had received its nourishment and support, had been dried up, he *moved the court, that a book, which

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Sir G. Yeardley, governor, 1621.

* To the end, therefore, that she might still be preserved, by divulging fame and good report, he proposed, in the name of himself and many others of the society, to have a fair and perspicuous history compiled of the country, from the first discovery to that time ; wherein the memory and deserts of many of her worthy undertakers, as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Somers, the Lord de la War, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, (for both those knights, after their return from Virginia, had gone to the East Indies, and there died) together with divers others then living, might be commended to eternal thankfulness. He regretted their present inability, in having no other coin, wherewith to recompence the great pains and merit of the well-deserving : But he affirmed, that the best planted parts of America, under the Spanish government, at the like age, afforded not better matter of relation, than Virginia then did ; and he said

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should record and eternize the merits and virtues of the benefactors of Virginia, be published at the expence and under the direction of the company ; at the same time expressing his regret at “ their

that the effect, which such a general history, deduced to the life, throughout the kingdom, would have on the popular opinion of the common subject, might be gathered, from the success of the little pamphlets or declarations, lately published : And he further urged the immediate performance thereof, because a few years would consume the lives of many, whose memories retained much, and might also devour those letters and intelligences, which yet remained in loose and neglected papers.

This speech was received by the whole court, with very great applause, as spoken freely, and to an excellent purpose ; and it was resolved, to have it considered, and put in practice, in due time. Mr. Smith was also exceedingly commended, as well for this, as for always preferring motions of special consequence.

And it was from this motion, I suppose, that captain Smith was requested, in the company's name, to write his history of Virginia ; as he himself tells us, page 198. However, the captain's deserts see n not, about this time, to have been fully understood or regarded ; for I find him, soon after, preferring a petition to the company, setting forth, that he had not only adventured money, but had also twice built James Town, and four other plantations ; and had discovered the country, and relieved the colony, three years together, with such provisions, as he got from the savages, with great peril and hazard of his life ; and therefore he desired, in consideration thereof, that the company would be pleased to reward him, either out of their treasury at home, or their profits in Virginia : And certainly, considering his many great and extraordinary services, he was highly worthy their regard : But the court referred him to the committee, appointed for rewarding men upon merit ; and from whatever cause it happened, I find nothing farther done in the matter. So that he, with a fate very usual to public spirits, had reason to complain, that every shilling, which he had gained by these enterprizes, had cost him a pound ; and that what he had got, in some successful campaigns at war, had been cheerfully spent on Virginia and New England, for

present inability, in having no other coin, wherewith to recompence the great pains and merit of the well deserving." This motion succeeded, and a request was made to Smith to write the history of Virginia. 1621.

BUT a more immediate and effectual relief was found in the voluntary subscription of the adventurers. These lists were called *rolls, and spe-

the public good. Yet he begrudges it not, but should think himself happy, to see their prosperity and advancement.

Stith.

* Wherefore, to supply this deficiency, they entered into a method of preparing rolls, and offering them to the voluntary subscription of the adventurers. Whatever was sent to Virginia upon these rolls, was there sold, by the cape merchant, or some other factor, at such a moderate price, as should indemnify the subscribers for their money advanced, and for all charges incident thereupon. At this time, four rolls were prepared, and brought into court, for the company's subscription. The first was for apparel, and other necessary provisions and utensils, for the colony: The second, sending an hundred more maids, to make wives; and sixty were accordingly sent, young, handsome, and well recommended, to the company, for their virtuous education and demeanor.

With them was sent over, the several recommendations and testimonials of their behavior, that the purchasers might thence be enabled to judge how to chuse. The price of these wives was stated at an hundred pounds of tobacco, and afterwards advanced to one hundred and fifty, and proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die; so that the adventurers might be refunded their original charge: And it was also ordered, that this debt for wives, should have the precedence of all others, and be first recoverable.

And it was strictly enjoined, that they should be used well, and not married to servants, but to such free men and tenants, as could handsomely support them; that, by their good fortune, multitudes of others might be allured to come over, on the prospect of advantageous matches: And the

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cified the particular wants they were intended to remove. The subscribers were to be repaid by the sale of those articles in the colony ; and as an inducement to a speedy re-payment, a moderate price was fixed by the company on the commodities.

An important change took place this year in

company likewise declared their intention, that, for the encouragement of settled families, and securing a posterity, they would prefer and make consignments for married men, before single persons : and that as many boys should be sent, as there were maids, to be prentices to those, who married them. They also granted adventurers, who subscribed to this roll, a ratable proportion of land, according to the number of maids sent, to be laid off together, and formed into a town, by the name of Maidstown.

The third roll was for a glass furnace, to make beads, which was the current coin in the Indian trade : and one captain Norton, with some Italian workmen, was sent over for that purpose.

The fourth was for setting out a trading voyage with the Indians, for skins and fur : For the company was informed from several hands, that the French and Dutch carried on a very profitable trade of that sort, in Delaware and Hudson's rivers, which were within the limits of their grant, and then estimated parts of Virginia. They therefore resolved to vindicate their right, and not to permit foreigners to runaway with so lucrative a branch of their trade. One captain Jones was accordingly sent upon the voyage ; but by the wickedness of him and his mariners, the adventure was lost, and the project overthrown.

To these rolls, the earl of Southampton, and Sir Edwin Sandys, each subscribed two hundred pounds ; and such was the zeal and resolution of the adventurers to advance the colony, that they were soon completed and put into execution. At the same time, the company, in their letters to the governor and council, recommends to them the prevention of fraud and deceit in tobacco, and that some provision should be made, for burning all base and rotten trash, and none suffered to go home, but what was very good ; whereby, they said, there would certainly be more advanced in the price, than lost in the quantity.

Stith, p. 197.

the administration of justice. From the first settlement of the colony, the governor and council were judges in all cases, and suits were heard and determined at James Town, and no where else. This evil, growing out of the imperfect nature of their constitution, and the state of their population and settlements, was farther aggravated by the great difficulty of procuring regular attendance of counsellors, living at great distances from each other, and from James town ; and who had moreover no salary or perquisites, as inducements for their attendance. To remedy this inconvenience, the company ordered, that four terms or quarter sessions, which should continue for an entire week each, be held at James Town, in the year.

WE are not informed whether these judges received a compensation for their services ; but their labors were rendered easy by the appointment of several new counsellors, who it is presumed, relieved each other, by a rotation of service.

THE new governor at length arrived, bringing with him a charter for the colony, and a body of instructions for Sir G. Yeardley, whose commission had not yet expired. A summary of this charter, which will appear at large in the list of public papers, has been given above.

IT merely confirmed the privileges already granted to Sir G. Yeardley, and proves that the plan of an assembly, was not a transient act of expediency to suit a particular emergence ; but a digested scheme of fixed and permanent policy.

THE instructions contain a great mass of useful observations, on almost every subject of regulation and economy. At first view, it appeared most judicious to publish them with the other public papers, in the last volume ; but after some reflection, I judged that a body of matter on such a variety of subjects, and which naturally pictur-

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Change in
the mode of
administer-
ing justice.

Quarter ses-
sions insti-
tuted.

New gover-
nor arrives.

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Body of in-
structions.

ed the spirit and temper of the times, should be placed in the body of the work, in order to explain and illuminate the matter around it.

“ IN these, it was first recommended to them, to take into their special regard, the service of Almighty God, and the observance of his divine laws ; and that the people should be trained up, in true religion and virtue.

AND since their endeavors, for the establishment of the honor and rights of the church and ministry, had not yet taken due effect, they were required, to employ their utmost care, to advance all things appertaining to the order and administration of divine service, according to the form and discipline of the church of England ; carefully to avoid all factions and needless novelties, which only tended to the disturbance of peace and unity ; and to cause, that the ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the churches, or the places appointed for divine service, decently accommodated, according to former orders in that behalf.

THEY were, in the next place, commanded to keep the people in due obedience to the king ; to provide, that justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the forms and constitution of England ; to prevent all corruption, tending to the perversion or delay of justice ; to protect the natives from injury and oppression ; and to cultivate peace and friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the honor of the nation, and safety of the people. They were likewise required, to make the people apply themselves to an industrious way of life ; and to suppress all gaming, drunkenness, and excess in apparel.

To this end, it was ordained, that no person, except the council, or the heads of hundreds and

plantations, with their wives and children, should wear gold on their clothes, or any apparel of silk, except such as had been raised by their own industry. But the governor and council replied, that they knew of no excess in apparel, except in the price of it; and had it not come from them, they should have thought it a flout upon the colony, for their poverty and nakedness.

THEY were also enjoined, to use great care, that no just cause of offence be given to any other prince, state, or people; to permit no captain, or other person, under pretence of trade, to sail to the West Indies, to rob and spoil; not to give harbor or refuge, on the coast, or in the country, to any pirates or banditti; but severely to prosecute and punish them; and to take better care, for proper and effectual fortifications.

THEY further pressed upon them, in a particular manner, the using all probable means of bringing over the natives, to a love of civilization, and to the knowledge of God, and his true religion.

To which purpose, they observed to them, that the example, given by the English in their own persons and families, would be of singular and chief moment:

THAT it would be proper, to draw the best disposed among the Indians, to converse and labor among our people, for a convenient reward; that, thereby, being reconciled to a civil way of life, and brought to a sense of God and religion, they might afterwards become instruments in the general conversion of their countrymen, so much desired:

THAT each town, borough, and hundred, ought to procure, by just means, a certain number of their children, to be brought up in the first elements of literature; that the most towardly of those should be fitted for the college; in building of

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which, they purposed to proceed, as soon as any profit arose from the estate, appropriated to that use ; and they earnestly required their earnest help and furtherance, in that pious and important work ; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the colony, and being assured of the love of all good men, upon that account.

THEY next proceeded to give instructions, for the reception and accommodation of the new governor, and of the other officers and people then sent ; and they pressed upon them the raising several useful commodities ; as well corn, wine, silk, and others heretofore frequently mentioned ; as also making oil of walnuts, employing their apothecaries in distillation, and searching the country for minerals, dyes, gums, drugs, and the like : And they ordered them, particularly by the king's advice and desire, to draw the people off from their excessive planting of tobacco. To that end, they were commanded to permit them, to make only an hundred pounds of tobacco ahead ; and to take all possible care, to improve that proportion in goodness, as much as might be, which would bring their commodity into request, and cause a more certain benefit to the planter.

THEY likewise added many other advices and instructions, for the administration of justice, the good government, and happy advancement of the colony.

IN case of the death, removal, or suspension of the governor, the council, or major part of them, then resident in Virginia, were ordered, immediately to assemble them, within fourteen days, or sooner, and out of their own body, to elect a person, to supply the place, for the time. But if the voices should happen to be equal, then election was to be made of the lieutenant governor ; and in the absence, or necessary cause of declining if,

the marshal should succeed ; next, the treasurer ; and then out of the two deputies for the college and company's lands ; till the government should be settled in one of those chief officers. And the governor was authorised, to summon them to appear, at the next quarter session of the council, and there to abide their censure. But if the governor thought it concerned the peace and welfare of the colony, to proceed more speedily with such offender, that then it should be lawful for him, to summon an extraordinary council, at which six of the council at least should be present, with the governor ; and by majority of voices, any counsellor might be committed, or obliged to give bail for his appearance."

SIR Francis Wyatt also brought over with him, an ordinance or charter, from the treasurer, council, and company in England, for settling the constitution and government of Virginia, in the governor, council of state, as his assistants, and the general assembly. This assembly was to consist of the governor, council of state, and two burgesses, chosen by every town, hundred, or particular plantation. All matters were to be decided, determined, and ordered in it, by the majority of voices, then present ; reserving to the governor, a negative upon the whole. And they were empowered, to treat, consult, and conclude, as well concerning all emergent occasions, relating to the public weal of the said colony, and every part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact, such general laws and orders, as should, from time to time, appear necessary : Provided nevertheless, that no law, or ordinance, made in the said general assembly, should be of force or validity, unless the same should be solemnly confirmed and ratified, in a general quarter court of the company in England, and returned under their

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seal : As also, when this form of government should be once well framed or settled, that no orders of the court of England, should bind the colony, before they were ratified and confirmed in like manner, by the general assembly in Virginia.

BUT in all other things, they were commanded to follow the policy, form of government, laws, customs, manner of trial, and other administration of justice, used in England.

Sir F. Wyatt
governor.
Nov. 18th,
1621.

Session of
assembly.

A SESSION of assembly was held this year, which is not noticed by Stith, nor any other of our historians. Its acts are neither numerous nor important; and they want that technical regularity and form, which time and precision have added to parliamentary proceedings. They appear to detail, merely for the inspection of the company in London, measures of expediency, mingled with general observations and suggestions.

Letters of
governor &
council.

THE acts of this assembly were accompanied by *letters from the governor and council, to the company. They state, that they had sent Mr. Thorpe with a present and message, to the great king Sasauopeomen, formerly Oetan or Opitchapan, and to his brother Opechancanough, now called Mangopeomen, who were much pleased, and confessed their jealousy, that the new governor would not continue the league; that Opechancanough gave him great hope, that he would entertain some of their people among them, and that some of the inhabitants should cohabit with them; that he confirmed his promise of leading the English to the mines; that he thought the cause of God's anger, was their custom of confining their

* Records of company, MS. penes me.

*children, and making them black boys ; that he possessed a knowledge of the north star, and the constellation about it, calling it Manguahajan, i. e. the great bear, and that he had appointed Pamun-

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* The Indians have their altars and places of sacrifice.... Some say, they now and then sacrifice young children ; but they deny it, and assure us, that when they withdraw their children, it is not to sacrifice them, but to consecrate them to the service of their God. Smith tells us of one of these sacrifices in his time, from the testimony of some people, who had been eye witnesses. His words are these.

Beverley.

“ Fifteen of the properest young boys, between ten and fifteen years of age, they painted white ; having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoon in dancing and singing about them with rattles.

In the afternoon, they put these children to the root of a tree : By them all the men stood in a guard, every one having a bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together ; they made a lane between them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch these childrenSo every one of the five went through the guard, to fetch a child each after the other by turns ; the guard fiercely beating them with their bastinados, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmerciful blows, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weep and cry out very passionately, providing skins, mats, moss, and dry wood, as things fitting for the children's funeral. After the children were thus past the guard, the guards tore down the tree, branches and boughs with such violence, that they rent the body, made wreaths for their heads, and bedecked their hair with the leaves.

What else was done with the children was not seen ; but they were all cast on a heap in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

The Werowance being demanded the reason of this sacrifice, answered, that the children were not dead, but that the Okee, or devil, did suck the blood from the left breast of those who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead ; but the rest were kept in the wilderness by the young men, till

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Sir T Wyatt
governor.
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key, for farther conference ; that the governor's hundred tenants had decreased to forty-six, and that Sir George Yeardley had refused to make good the number ; that tobacco was stinted to one hundred plants per head, nine leaves to a plant ; that Newport's-News had been settled by the Irish, &c.

It will be seen, that a material change was here effected in the mode of appointing counsellors. By the second charter, the right of supplying vacancies in this body, was taken from the council, and vested by his majesty in the treasurer and company in London. By the body of instructions above mentioned, it appears to have returned to its ancient channels. It is certainly more reasonable that a good choice should be made on the spot, by men acquainted with the characters, capacity, and services of the candidates ; than by men, who have never seen the country, and who must be ignorant of all the circumstances essential to a judicious and able appointment.

Origin of
the court &
country parties.

THE spirit of freedom, which, since the year one thousand six hundred and fourteen, had begun to display itself in parliament, assumed this year an energy and boldness, which the pride of James could no longer endure, consistently with his notion of the divine right and nature of monarchy. The most conspicuous *members of the commons, were committed to the tower and other prisons ; whilst those, whose freedom of speech

nine months were expired, during which time they must not converse with any ; and of these were made their priests and conjurors."

* *Hume, vol. IV. p. 281.*

had been more cautious and reserved, were sent underpretence of business to Ireland. CHAP.
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THE king had previously, in order to intimidate the house, imprisoned Sir Edwin Sandys ; but this violent proceeding had only the effect of inflaming their resistance. Sir T W yatt
governor.
1621.

WHEN we consider the high hand with which Elizabeth carried herself towards her parliaments, and the Asiatic maxims with which she silenced their slightest murmurs, too much credit cannot be given to the parliaments during this reign : And their exertions, and their final victory over an haughty and indefinable prerogative, will be regarded with greater interest by the Virginian, when he reflects, that to the spirit and triumph of this opposition, he is indebted, in common with the people of England and America, for those improvements in his charter, or constitution of government, which led the way to a more complete and perfect reform.

It has been already noticed, that the most conspicuous asserters of liberty in parliament, were also members of the London company ; so that there is a necessary connection at this æra, between the proceedings of parliament, and the affairs of Virginia.

THE population of the colony having received considerable increase, from the emigration of the preceding year ; and its limits advanced by new and distant settlements, it became inconvenient, if not impracticable, to hear and determine all causes of what nature soever, before a single tribunal, at a place too, which was not central to the scattered plantations and settlements. 1622.

To remedy this evil, inferior courts were established in convenient places, to decide on causes of lesser importance. The adjudication of cases of a higher nature, remained as before, at James

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Sir T Wyatt
governor.
1622.

Town, in the hands of the governor and council. We are not informed by Stith, or any of the historians, whether this was a power expressly given by the company in their bye-laws and instructions, or assumed by the executive in Virginia, through motives of convenience, and by a liberal construction of their charter.

THE records of the London company, and of the Virginia councils and assembly, throw no light on this subject: There can however be little difficulty in deciding, that it was a provision of the assembly of this or the preceding year, whose peculiar province it was, by the charter of 1619, to enact all the laws necessary for the administration of justice, and the government of the colony.

WHILST the colony was thus rapidly advancing to eminence and wealth, she carried in her bosom and about her, an enemy, which was to blight her budding honors, and which brought near to ruin and desolation her growing establishment. Since the marriage of Pocahontas, the natives had lived on terms of uninterrupted and apparently cordial amity with the English, which daily gained strength, by mutual wants and necessities. Each had something beyond their wants, which the other stood in need of: And commerce, regulated by good faith, and a spirit of justice, gave facility to the exchange or barter of their superfluous productions. The consequence of this state of things was, a complete security on the part of the English; a total disregard and disuse of military precautions and martial exercises.... The time and the hands of labor were considered too valuable, to be employed in an idle and holiday array of arms; and in this situation, wholly intent on amassing wealth, and totally unprovided for defence, they were attacked by an enemy, whose resentment no time, nor good offices could

disarm ; whose preparations were silent as night ; to whom the arts of native cunning had given a deep dissimulation, an exterior so specious, as might impose on suspicion itself.

AFTER the death of Powhatan, the empire descended by order of succession to his brother Opitchapan. But amongst a people, where a daring and intrepid courage, and invincible patience under pain and suffering, were esteemed the principal virtues, but little regard is paid to the accidental merit of descent. An Indian chieftain must be the most renowned warrior in his tribe. Every Indian, whatever may be the form of his government, is the absolute master of his own actions. A nation which is always in arms, and acknowledges no other deity than the god of war, feels respect only for those qualities, which can secure to them victory, or conduct a surprize or retreat. Under such circumstances, and coming after a chief of such glory as Powhatan, the feeble and decrepid Opitchapan was little calculated to secure respect, or enforce obedience.

THE defects of the new emperor were aggravated in the minds of the Indians, by a comparison with the accomplished Opechancanough, who in the council and the field, was the most conspicuous warrior amongst the Powhatans ; and who, as has been told above, during the life time of the late emperor, had procured from the free tribe of the Chickahominies, the title of their king.

OPECHANCA NOUGH possessed another powerful recommendation in the eyes of his countrymen : His hatred of the English was rooted and deadly. Never for a moment did he forget the unjust invasion and insolent aggressions of those strangers : Never did he forget his own personal wrongs and humiliation.

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COMPELLED by the inferiority of his countrymen, in the weapons and instruments of war, as by their customs, to employ *stratagem instead of force, he buried deep in his bosom all traces of the rage with which he was agitated.

To the English, if any faith was due to appearances, his deportment was uniformly frank and unreserved : He was the equitable mediator in the several differences, which arose between them and his countrymen.

THE intellectual †superiority of the white men, was the constant theme of his admiration : He appeared to consider them as the peculiar favorites of heaven, against whom resistance were at once impious and impracticable. But far different was his language and deportment in the presence of his countrymen.

IN the gloom and silence of the dark and impenetrable forest, or the inaccessible swamp, he gave utterance to the sorrows and indignation of his swelling bosom. He painted, with the strength and brilliancy of savage coloring, the tyranny, rapacity, and cruelty of the English ;....whilst he mournfully contrasted the unalloyed content and felicity of their former lives, with their present abject and degraded condition ; subject, as they were, to the capricious controul and intolerable re-

* This was an invariable custom with all the American Indians. To nations always engaged in war, and whose population was not considerable, it appears almost a necessary precaution, to be economical of the lives of their citizens. There is a precept of Lycurgus nearly to the same effect.

† He acknowledged his own religion not to be the right way, and desired to be instructed in the christian faith. He confessed that God loved the English better than them.

Smith, 204.

quisitions of those hard and un pitying task-masters.

INDEPENDENCE is the first blessing of the savage state. Without it, all other advantages are light and valueless : Bereft of this, in their estimation, even life itself is a barren and comfortless possession. It is not surprizing then, that Opechan-canough, independent of his influence as a great Werowance or war captain, should on such a subject, discover kindred feelings in the breasts of his countrymen. The war song and war whoop, breaking like thunder from the fierce and barbarous multitudes, mingling with the clatter of their shields, and enforced by the terrific gestures of the war-dance, proclaimed to their leader their determination to die with him, or conquer.

WITH equal address, the experienced and wily savage proceeded to allay the storm, which his invective had conjured up in the breasts of the Indians. The English, although experience had proved them neither immortal nor invincible, he represented as formidable by their fire arms, and their superior knowledge in the art of war ; and he inculcated as the sole means of deliverance and revenge, secrecy and caution, until an occasion should offer, when by surprize or ambush, the scattered establishments of their enemies might at the same moment be assaulted and swept away.

*FOUR years had nearly elapsed in maturing this formidable conspiracy ; during which time, not a single Indian belonging to the †thirty nations,

* *Stith....Beverley.*

† *Jefferson's Notes....* See his enumeration of Indian nations of Virginia.

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which composed the empire of Powhatan, was found to violate his engagements, or betray his leader : Not a word or hint was heedlessly or deliberately dropt to awaken jealousy or excite suspicion ; when all at once, a circumstance occurred, which was made the pretext, and which possibly accelerated the execution, of this project.

Nemattanow :

THERE was among the Indians, a warrior named Nemattanow, who, for those virtues in highest estimation amongst savages, as well as for the extravagance and eccentricity of his conduct, was peculiarly distinguished. He was possessed of uncommon bodily strength and activity, and of a courage in the highest degree daring and adventurous. Although engaged in a multitude of battles with Indians and English, in all of which he was conspicuous in the onset and the van ; prodigal of life, and fearless of danger ; he had invariably come off without a wound. A good fortune so singular, joined with a bravery so rash and impetuous, easily induced the belief among his countrymen, that he was invulnerable and immortal ; an opinion, which his vanity found less inclination to discourage, than support. It is difficult in any (more especially in the rude and savage) state, to bear a long and uninterrupted tide of good fortune, with temper and moderation. Nemattanow, not content with his well earned glory as a warrior, affected a gaudy peculiarity in his dress ; ornamenting his person fantastically with feathers of various colors, on which account, he was, amongst his countrymen and by the English, known by the name of Jack o'the Feather. This man, on several occasions, had committed depredations on the property of the English : But at length, having deliberately murdered an Englishman of the name of Morgan, he was seized by

His eccentricity.

He murders an Englishman :

the servants of the deceased, and attempting to escape, was *shot by one of them through the body.

It is said that Opechancanough envied the reputation of this savage, and was secretly pleased that he was no more. He †affected grief and indignation, only to inflame the breasts of the Indians to fury and revenge.

A SINGULAR story is related by all our historians of the last moments of Nemattanow :... When he discovered that death was fast approaching, and that his dream of glory and immortality would shortly vanish, forgetting his pains, he ap-

* This Nemattanow, coming to a private settlement of one Morgan, who had several toys which he had a mind to, persuaded him to go to Pamunkey to dispose of them. He gave him hopes what mighty bargains he might meet with there, and kindly offers him his assistance. At last Morgan yielded to his persuasion : But was no more heard of ; and it is believed, that Nemattanow killed him by the way, and took away his treasure : For within a few days, this Nemattanow returned to the same house, with Morgan's cap upon his head, where he found two sturdy boys, who asked for their master. He very frankly told them, he was dead : But they, knowing the cap again, suspected the villain had killed their master, and would have had him before a justice of peace : But he refused to go, and very insolently abused them....whereupon they shot him down, and as they were carrying him to the governor, he died.

Beverley, p. 40.

† As to this warrior, he was so far from being in his favor, that he had sent word to Sir George Yeardley, some time before, that he should be content if his throat were cut. Yet he being a popular man, and much lamented by the Indians, Opechancanough pretended, the better to inflame and exasperate them, to be much grieved at his loss, and was very loud, at first, in his threats of revenge.

Stith, p. 208.

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His singular request to the English.

peared anxious only about his reputation amongst his countrymen and with posterity.

It is curious to trace in the mind of this rude and unlettered savage, the operation of the same principles which put in motion the poet, the historian and the conqueror. With earnestness and anxiety he besought his enemies, with the solemnity of a last dying request, to conceal his grave, in the hope, that "this evidence and monument of his mortality, might be kept from the sight of his *countrymen."

BUT in spite of the profound dissimulation of Opechancanough, he had not passed entirely without †suspicion ; and in some instances, even ‡direct charges were brought against him, of a design to surprize and exterminate the colonists: But he found means to silence those alarms, by the apparent frankness and sincerity of his manners ; and by an invariable and assiduous attention to their interest and convenience.

INDUCED, by evidence so specious, Sir G. Yeardley, who was then governor, supposed, that the charges were altogether without ||founda-

* *Beverley....Stith.*

† He had been discovered the year before, to tamper with a king on the Eastern Shore, to furnish him with a poison, either real or supposed, in order to poison the English colony.

Stith, p. 209.

‡ He had also been accused to the governor of a design to draw together a very great force, under color of celebrating some funeral rights to Powhatan, but really with intent to cut off the English.

Stith, p. 209.

|| *Stith, p. 209.*

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tion; and the short-lived caution and vigilance induced by those suspicions, were again permitted to relapse into the lethargy of a deep and fatal security.

EVERY thing being at length ripe for execution, the several nations of Indians were secretly drawn together, and stationed at the several points of attack, with a celerity and precision unparalleled in history. Although some of the detachments had to march from great distances, and through a continued forest, guided only by the stars and the dubious light of the moon, no instance of mistake or disorder took place. The Indian mode of march, is by single files. They follow one after the other in profound silence, treading nearly as possible in the steps of each other, and adjusting the long grass and branches which they have displaced. This is done to conceal all traces of their route from their enemies, who are equally sagacious and quick-sighted.

Indians are secretly drawn together.

Their manner of march.

THEY halted at a short distance from the English, waiting without impatience for the signal, which was to be given by their fellows, who, under pretence of traffic, had this day in considerable numbers, repaired to the plantations of the colonists.

Evidence of their profound dissimulation.

So perfect was the cunning and dissimulation of Opechancanough, that on the morning of this fatal day, the straggling English, by his direction, were conducted in †safety through the woods to their settlements, and presents of ‡venison and

* Raynal, Robertson, Carver, Baron le Hontan, &c,

† Stith.

‡ Beverley.

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wild fowl were sent in his name to the governor and counsellors, accompanied with expressions of regard and assurances of friendship. "Sooner," said the wily chieftain, "shall the sky fall, than the peace shall be violated on my part."

They fall on
the English
settlements.

AND so entirely were the English duped by those professions and appearances, that they freely lent the Indians their *boats, with which they announced the concert, the signal, and the hour of attack to their countrymen on the other side of the river.

March 22.

THE fatal hour having at length arrived, and the necessary dispositions having every where taken place; on a signal given, at mid-day, innumerable detachments setting up the war-whoop, burst from their concealments, on the defenceless settlements of the English, massacring all they met, without distinction of age or sex; and according to custom, mutilating and mangling in a shocking manner, the dead bodies of their enemies.

Massacre of
the English

So unexpected and terrible was the onset, that scarcely any resistance was made. The English fell, scarcely knowing their enemies, and in many instances by their own weapons. In one hour †three hundred and forty seven men, women and

* *Beverley*, p. 30.

- | | |
|---|----|
| †1. At captain John Berkeley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek, sixty six miles from James City, himself and twenty one others, | 22 |
| 2. At master Thomas Sheffield's plantation, three miles from Falling Creek, himself and twelve others, | 13 |
| 3. At Henrico islands, two miles from Sheffield's plantation, | 6 |
| 4. Slain of the college people, twenty miles from Henrico, | 17 |
| 5. At Charles City, and of captain Smith's men, | 5 |
| 6. At the next adjoining plantation, | 6 |

children, including six of the council and several others of distinction, fell without a struggle, by the hands of the Indians. Chance alone saved the colony from utter extirpation.

7. At William Farrar's house,	10
8. At Berkley Hundred, fifty miles from Charles City, master George Thorpe and ten more,	11
9. At Westover, a mile from Berkley,	2
10. At master John West's plantation,	2
12. At Richard Owen's house, himself and six more,	7
13. At lieutenant Gibbs's plantation,	12
14. At master Owen Macar's house, himself and three more,	4
15. At Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James Ci- ty,	73
16. At another place,	7
17. At Edward Bonit's plantation,	50
18. At master Waters's house, himself and four more,	5
19. At Apomatusk's river, at master Perce's planta- tion, five miles from the college,	4
20. At master Maycock's dividend, captain Samuel Maycock, and four more,	5
21. At Flower-de-Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's plan- tation,	6
22. On the other side opposite to it,	7
23. At master Swinhow's house, himself and seven more,	8
24. At master William Bickar's house, himself and four more,	5
25. At Wyanoke, of Sir George Yeardley's people,	21
26. At Powell Brooke, captain Nathaniel Powell and twelve more,	13
27. At Southampton Hundred.	5
28. At Martin's Brandon Hundred,	7
29. At captain Henry Spilman's house,	2
30. At ensign Spence's house,	5
31. At master Thomas Perce's house, by Mulberry-Is- land, himself and four more,	5

The whole number,
H h

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A CONVERTED Indian, named Chanco, lived with Richard Pace, loved by his master on account of his good qualities, with an affection at once, christian and parental. The night preceding the massacre, the brother of Chanco slept with him ; and after a strict injunction of secrecy, having revealed to him the intended plot, he commanded him, in the name of Opechancanough, to murder his master : The grateful Indian, shocked at the atrocity of the proposal, after his brother's departure, flew to Pace, and disclosed to him the information he had received. There was no time to be lost : Before day, a dispatch was forwarded to the governor, at James Town ; which, with the adjacent settlements, were thus preserved from the ruin, which hung over them.

IN several plantations also, where the information of Chanco was unknown, the Indians were repulsed by the intrepidity of the proprietors.... These cases are thus related by Stith :

“ NATHANIEL Causie, one of captain Smith's old soldiers, being cruelly wounded, did, with an axe, cleave down one of their skulls ; and tho' they were all about him, yet they fled away, and he escaped. At another place, two men only, having notice of their design, defended a house against sixty or more, that assaulted it. At War-rasqueake, one Mr. Baldwin, when his wife was so wounded, that she lay for dead, yet by often discharging his piece, drove them off, and saved her and his house, together with himself and divers others. At Mr. Harrison's, about half a mile from Baldwin's, was Mr. Thomas Hamer, with six men, and eighteen or nineteen women and children. To him the Indians came, with many presents and fair professions. They pretended they wanted captain Ralph Hamer, to go to their king, then hunting in the woods. Mr. Hamer sent im-

mediately for his brother, who was at a new house, he was then building. But he not coming according to their wish, they set fire to a tobacco house, and came and told them in the dwelling house of it. The men ran towards it, and the Indians following, first shot them full of arrows, and afterwards beat out their brains. Mr. Hamer, having finished a letter he was writing, ran out to see what was the matter. But he soon received an arrow in his back, which obliged him to retire into the house, and barricade the doors. Hereupon the Indians set fire to the house ; but Harrison's boy, just at that instant, finding his master's gun loaded, shot at random. At the bare report, the Indians all fled ; and thereby left the way open, to Mr. Hamer and twenty two more, to get to Baldwin's house. Captain Ralph Hamer, all this while, was wholly ignorant of what was passing ; but coming to his brother, who had sent for him, he met the Indians, chasing some of the English.... Whereupon he retired to his new house, and with only spades, axes, and brickbats, defended himself and his company, till the savages departed. Soon after, the master of a ship, lying near, and perceiving the confusion, sent him six musqueteers ; with whom he recovered their merchant's store-house, and armed ten more ; and so, with thirty unarmed workmen, he found out his brother and the rest, at Baldwin's. But in the midst of this miserable slaughter and uproar, a little house and small family, not far from Martin's hundred, at which place alone seventy-three were slain, not only escaped, but never heard any thing of it, till two days after.

At this time also, captain Raleigh Croshaw was in Potowmac river, trading in a small bark, commanded by captain Spilman. There an Indian stole aboard, and told them of the massacre ; and

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that Opechancanough had been practising with his king and country, to betray them, which they refused to do ; but that the Indians of Wighcomoco had undertaken it. Hereupon captain Spilman went thither. But they, seeing his men so vigilant and well-armed, suspected themselves to be discovered ; and therefore, the better to cover their guilt, and delude him, they gave him such satisfaction in his trade, that his vessel was soon near loaded. After this, captain Croshaw went up the Potowmac. He had been long acquainted with that king ; who now very earnestly entreated him, to stay with him, and to be his friend, his director, his captain, against several neighboring nations, his mortal enemies. Croshaw very readily embraced his offer ; as well to promote some private views of his own in trade, as to keep him firm to the English interest, and make him an useful opponent and instrument against Opechancanough. Therefore, relying on the faith of this barbarian, he ventured with one man only, to stay behind at Potowmac.”

FROM this time, the number of the plantations and settlements, which before amounted to *eighty, were reduced to †six ; and their strength concentrated by ‡order of the governor about James Town

* *Purchas*, V. 1792.

† Shirley Hundred, Paspiha, Flower de Hundred, Kickotan, James Town, and Southampton.

‡ Those persons who refused to obey the order, were,
Mr. Edward Hill, at Elizabeth City.
Mr. Samuel Jordan, at Jordan's Point.
Mr. Daniel Gookin, at Newport-News.

Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of an heroic spirit, who defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the colony obliged her to abandon it.

and the neighborhood : All*works of public utility, as well as the exertions of private industry, were entirely suspended ; and the whole attention of the colonists was bent on the means of defence, and on projects of vengeance. A bloody and exterminating war ensued, in which treachery and cruelty took place of manly courage and generous warfare.

THE laws of war and that humanity, which, in the moments of victory give quarter to the vanquished, were forgotten amid the suggestions of craving and insatiable revenge.

BUT the opportunities of retaliation, owing to the swiftness of the natives, and their knowledge of the country, were not frequent enough to ap-

* The iron work at Falling creek in particular, was entirely ruined and demolished.

Stith, p. 218.

Beverley adds the glass houses at James Town.

The superintendant of the iron works had also discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept private, and made use of it to furnish all the neighbors with bullets and shot. But he being cut off with the rest, and the secret not having been communicated, this lead mine could never after be found ; till colonel Byrd, some few years ago, prevailed with an Indian, under pretence of hunting, to give him a sign, by dropping histomahawk at the place (he not daring publicly to discover it, for fear of being murdered.) The sign was accordingly given, and the company at that time found several pieces of good lead ore, below the surface of the ground, and under the trees thereabouts. Notwithstanding which, I know not by what witchcraft it happens, but no mortal to this day could ever find that place again, though it be upon part of the colonel's own possessions. And so it rests, till time and thicker settlements discover it.

Beverley.

The place was a third time discovered by John Chiswell, and the mine is now, or has been lately wrought to advantage.

Belknap's Life Wyatt.

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pease the boiling spirit of vengeance. The Indian, pressed by hunger, or stimulated by the hope of plunder or revenge, would on a sudden burst from his concealment on his enemy, and if outnumbered and pursued, he vanished amidst the eternal midnight of his forests.

Whole days he lies on his belly, in breathless silence....his color not distinguishable from the earth in which he lies; every faculty wound up to attention. He watches the moment when he can strike with certainty; and his aim is as fatal and unerring as destiny.

FINDING that little was to be gained over such an enemy by force, the English thought proper to resort to an expedient, which is not to be justified by any principle recognized among men.... The Indians were invited from their fastnesses by the hopes of peace, and the solemn assurances of safety and *forgiveness. Confiding in those professions, which with them had been sacred and inviolable, they returned to their former habitations, and resumed their usual avocations and exercises. The moment of retribution had now arrived; and its execution was as brutal and sanguinary, as its means were dishonorable and impious. That inhuman maxim of the Roman church, "That no faith is to be kept with heretics, and that all means are justifiable against them," appears to have been adopted by the colonists in its fullest force. The habitations of the unfortunate people were beset at the same moment; and an indiscriminate slaughter took place, †without re-

* *Keith*, 139.

† The unrelenting severity with which this war was pro-

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gard to age, sex, or infancy. The horrid scene terminated by setting fire to the huts and corn of the savages. *A report for some time prevailed and gained credit, that Opechancanough was among the prisoners. But this sagacious chieftain never placed a full reliance on the promises of the English ; and it was owing solely to his precautions, that by far the greater number of the Indians, after the first surprise, were able to make their escape to the adjoining woods.

WE have no guide to assist us in forming an estimate of the loss of the Indians on this occasion. The letters of the governor and council to the company in London, speak too vaguely and generally to warrant any conjecture. The presumption however is, that as the English remained masters of the field, and were able to ascertain

secuted by the Virginians and Indians, transmitted a mutual abhorrence to the posterity of both ; and procured to the former the name of " the long knife," by which they are still distinguished in the hyeroglyphic language of the natives.

Belknap's Life Wyatt.

* By a successful stratagem, we have not only got our prisoners, but cut off some kings and great commanders, among whom we are assured Opechancanough is one :.... Knowing their residence, shall next blow nearly ruin them. We go on cheerfully with the fort....advise two thousand acres to be given to those who inhabit about it ; (it don't appear where this fort is.) Martin's Hundred ought to be taken care of, being useful in the destruction of the Indians, and for plenty, being impaled ; that all new comers ought to have an experienced man of this colony to command them, and pay for it per poil : Whether we shall make prizes of the Dutch and French trading with the Indians within our limits. All in health.

Virginia records, MS. penes me.

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accurately this loss, their silence amounts in some degree to a confession, that it was not considerable.

THE report of the massacre of the twenty second, excited uneasiness and indignation in the company at London, and the king appeared to catch for the moment, a sympathy for the disasters of the colony. He *promised to supply their loss by a levy of young men from the several counties in England, in the proportion of their population; and ordered a loan or present of fire-arms from the tower: But his zeal, if it was any thing more than affectation, was short-lived: and the adventurers were in the end left to their own resources and energies.

It appears from the debates in the quarter courts of the company, that the project of conciliation was at this time abandoned. The conduct of the Spaniards in South America, was openly proposed as a model; and to our surprize, the respec-

* But his majesty was so far sensible of the loss of so many of his subjects, and of the present estate of the colony, that he was graciously pleased to promise them assistance, and thereupon demanded what the company desired. It was answered ammunition and people, whereby they might be enabled to take a just revenge of those treacherous Indians, and to recover what they had now lost, as also to secure themselves against the like or any foreign enemy, that should offer to assault them: Whereupon it pleased his majesty to promise them some such arms out of the tower, as was desired, whereof the officers of the town brought some of each kind, and reported their store there to be as followeth.....

Brigandines; alias plate coats,	100
Jacks of mail,	40
Jerkins, or shirts of mail,	400
Skul's,	2000
Calivers and other pieces, balls, halberts, swords, &c.	

table name of captain †Smith is found among the advocates of this opinion. CHAP.
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WHEN all the circumstances of the case are considered, there is certainly considerable allow- 1622.

* Captain Smith likewise, upon this occasion, offered his services to the company : He proposed, that they should transport him, and an hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, and all proper provisions and ammunition ; and should give him a bark of an hundred tons, with means and materials to build six or seven shallops, to transport his men from place to place, as occasion required ; and then he undertook to form a flying camp, and to range about and torment the Indians, till he either obliged them to quit the country, or brought them into such fear and subjection, that every man should follow his business in peace and security ; and as to the support and subsistence of this party, he thought, if his majesty were truly informed of the necessity and benefit of the thing, he would give the customs of Virginia for a time : For, without some method, it was much to be doubted, whether there would come, in a few years, either custom, or any thing else, from thence to England. And he doubted not, but that the planters, according to their several abilities, would contribute towards so necessary and useful a design. But he insisted, that the governors should not be permitted, by virtue of their authority, to take his men away, or any thing else, to employ them, as they thought proper. And he farther promised, to make the best use of his experience, as well within the limits of Virginia, as New-England, to bring them both into one map, with all the countries, that lay between them. As the reward of his own pains and dangers, he asked not any thing, but what he could raise, from the proper labor of the savages themselves.

This proposal was well approved by most, that heard it ; but such were their divisions and confusion at that time, that he could obtain no other answer, but that the expence would be too great, and their stock was exhausted ; and they thought the planters should do something of that nature themselves, if they could find sufficient means to effect it. However, he was given to understand, as he tells us, that if he would undertake the thing upon his own private account, he might have the company's leave ; provided, they might have half the

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ance to be made for the advocates of this opinion ; although we admit that none will amount to a complete justification. Setting aside the original grounds of dispute, and the early injustice and injuries towards the natives, it must be admitted, that their conduct for several years had been dictated by a spirit of justice and sound policy. A college enriched by private donations, and confirmed by liberal grants from the company, had been contemplated for the education of Indian children ;.... while pious missionaries, with a temper and demeanor truly christian, were sent among them for the purpose, to speak the language of the church, of converting them to christianity.

It was justly concluded, that their affections should previously be gained by mildness and good offices ; and humanity and policy were thus made

pillage. But he rejected this intimation with scorn ; thinking, that all the pillage of those poor and naked barbarians, except a little corn, to be had at some times of the year, would not, in twenty years, amount to twenty pounds. But I suspect, that all this only passed in conversation, or was at most privately talked at their courts, without ever being bro't regularly before the company. For I have the company's records of that time, now in my possession, in which there is not the least mention of any such proposition, altho' things of a trivial and much more minute nature, are most exactly entered. Neither does it seem consistent with the character of the company, and its leaders, who gave a fair course and debate to all propositions offered, and were rather profuse in their expences for the good of the colony, than lying upon the catch for little advantages and mean gains.

However, the captain's open nature, and simplicity of honesty, might be blinded by crafty and designing men, and easily made believe, that that came from the company, which had really never come under their cognizance, or been laid before them.

Stith, p. 234.

to go hand in hand in the work of reformation. The effects of this conduct, appeared for a long time to justify this reasoning. The Indians were seemingly *grateful for those attentions. Several real or pretended proselytes to the religion of Christ were made every day; while their rude and barbarous manners were supposed gradually to bend to the influence of civilization and example.

BUT those pleasing expectations being disappointed and dissipated by their deep dissimulation and inhuman perfidy in the massacre, their extermination was a measure, which was supposed to be demanded at once by policy and justice.

BUT the king, insensible alike to justice and the distresses of the colony, whose wounds were yet bleeding since the massacre, began to urge anew his wish for a vigorous and oppressive impost on tobacco, the only staple of Virginia. Apprized of the jealous vigilance of the company, he did not think it prudent to proceed without some caution; and to a soul, like that of James, it probably yielded greater satisfaction, to gain a point, by the mean and wretched expedient of cunning,

* To ingratiate themselves with this prince (Opechancanough) and attach him more closely to their interest, the colony built an house for him, after the English mode. With this, he was so much pleased, that he kept the keys continually in his hands, opening and shutting the doors many times in a day, and showing the machinery of the locks, to his own people and to strangers. In return for this favor, he gave liberty to the English, to seat themselves, at any places, on the shores of the rivers, where the natives had no villages; and entered into a farther treaty with them, for the discovery of mines, and for mutual friendship and defence. This treaty was, at the request of Opechancanough, engraven on a brass plate, and fastened to one of the largest oaks, that it might be always in view, and held in perpetual remembrance.

Belknap's Amer. p. 64.

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The lord
treasurer.

than by the noblest exercise of honest reasoning, and the justice of his cause.

THE instrument employed on this occasion, was Sir L. Cranfield, a man every way fitted for this purpose. From the humble station of a London merchant, he had passed with a portentous rapidity to the place of master of the customs, and thence forward to the station of courtier, where for some time he fattened and basked in the royal sunshine. For these distinctions, he was indebted solely to a talent of arithmetical calculation ; to a head fertile in devising new and unconstitutional sources of *revenue, and to a bosom, which felt not the slightest touch of pity or remorse for the public or private misfortune. His career terminated in the exalted office of lord high treasurer of England.

THIS man had been himself an early adventurer in the Virginia company ; and it was hoped, that by pretending a fraternal concern for their interests, he might disarm the officers of the company of their usual vigilance and suspicions. But it was not thought prudent to rely solely on those expectations. With his expressions of regard for the Virginia establishment, the treasurer artfully intermingled dark and mysterious hints of the king's power, and his determination to exercise it to the prejudice of the company, in case of refusal, in a new and alarming manner.

Proposal for
granting an
exclusive pa-
tent for the
importation
of tobacco.

HAVING procured the ear of the company by those representations, the treasurer gradually unfolded his project of an exclusive patent, for the sole importation of tobacco ; a measure, than which none could be imagined more desirable or beneficial, provided it was attainable on any just and

* *Stith*, p. 245.

reasonable conditions: But during the progress of the company's enquiry into its detail and principles, so many unjust and unexpected pretensions were set up by the insatiable rapacity of the treasurer; and the exclusive patent was finally clogged with such oppressive conditions, that what was originally considered a blessing, became on its adoption, a curse, the most afflicting and hopeless.

THEY had gone however too far to recede; for a committee had been appointed by the Virginia and Somer's Island companies, to treat with the treasurer concerning the patent: And to recede at this stage, would be only to quicken into active and vigorous oppression, the stern and immitigable severity of the king. The contract was therefore agreed to, on the following conditions:

I. THAT the sole importation of tobacco, into the realms of England and Ireland, should be granted to the Virginia and Somer Islands companies, by patent under the great seal of England; which grant should be drawn and construed, in the most beneficial manner for the companies behoof, and the advancement of the colonies; his majesty's profit, hereafter recited, only reserved.

II. THAT his majesty should, by proclamation, prohibit all others from importing, as also from planting tobacco in England and Ireland, during the said contract, under grievous penalties; and that what was already planted, should, by virtue of the former proclamation, be confiscated.

III. THAT his majesty, and the lord high treasurer, should take all proper methods, for preventing and confiscating tobacco, unduly imported; and should endeavor, in all points, to keep up effectually to the true intent and meaning of this contract; and particularly, that his majesty should grant no licences to retailers of tobacco, that the

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market still remain free and open, as it had hitherto done.

IV. THAT in consideration hereof, as also for that the companies should be discharged from all other payments on tobacco (excepting only the ancient custom, in the book of rates, of six pence a pound on roll tobacco, and four pence upon leaf) the said companies should pay his majesty the full third part of all tobacco, yearly imported and landed by them in the said two realms : Provided nevertheless, that they should not be obliged to import more tobacco of the growth of the two colonies, than they themselves thought proper.

V. THAT the lord high treasurer should cause the custom to be reduced to a medium for seven years last past, ending at Michaelmas, 1621 ;.... wherein should be specified, how much was roll tobacco, and how much leaf, because of the different custom ; and that the whole should be reduced to a certain sum of money, whereof one-third to be paid by the king, for his part, and two thirds by the companies, and the customers to make no farther demand on any tobacco, either imported or exported.

VI. THAT his majesty should be discharged from payment of freight, and all other previous charges ; but that immediately upon the arrival of the said tobacco (at which time his majesty's interest therein would commence) he should bear the third part of all charges, for landing, housing, keeping, and transporting, by land, sea, or fresh water, into divers parts ; as also his third part of all law suits, of the salaries of all officers, agents, factors, and servants ; and in general of all matters and businesses whatsoever, incident to the said tobacco, or contract.

VII. THAT all the tobacco imported, should be consigned into such hands, as should be ap-

pointed by the said companies; who should, in their general courts, have the sole nomination of all officers, agents, factors, ministers, and servants, and the entire management of the said tobacco: Yielding to his majesty, a true and perfect account thereof, and paying the clear profits, which should become due to his majesty for his third, and come into their hands: In which account, the third of all charges should be allowed and defalcated, as aforesaid.

VIII. THAT the companies should be obliged to import, not above sixty thousand, nor under forty thousand weight of Spanish tobacco, for each of the first two years of this contract, and no longer: Upon condition nevertheless, that the king and state of Spain did not purposely (upon knowledge of their being obliged to import so large a quantity) raise the custom, or impose new burthens and charges upon their tobacco; and on condition likewise, that the price of tobacco, at which it was then sold in Spain, be not purposely enhanced, and that the markets be, in all respects, as free and open, as they formerly have been: Provided also, if any of the said quantity of Spanish tobacco do, in any wise, miscarry by casualties at sea, the said companies should not be bound, to restore and make good the proportion so lost, by any new provision and importation.

IX. THAT this contract should commence at Michaelmas, 1622, and continue for the space of seven years, then next ensuing.

By this patent, the companies contracted to pay to his majesty, independent of the ancient custom in the book of rates, of six pence per pound on roll tobacco, and four pence on leaf, the clear proceeds of a full third part of all the tobacco, which should be yearly imported by them into England and Ireland; and what was, if possible,

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more grievous, they were bound to import not less than forty thousand weight of the best Spanish varinas, for which they must give eighteen shillings in Spain ; when the two colonies were able to raise more than *sufficient for the supply of the British market : So that, independent of the actual loss to the company, and the impolitic preference thus given to the productions of a foreign country, there was a dead loss of so much money to the nation.

It will be recollected, that the Spanish tobacco sold at eighteen shillings the pound ; whilst the Somer's Islands and Virginia tobacco, would bring only 2s6, or at most 3s. and as the king, by the patent, was to have the clear proceeds of a full third of all the tobacco imported, his profits on the Spanish would exceed that of the produce of the colonies, in the exact ratio of six to one.

BUT if the character of this king be accurately examined the oppression and rapacity manifested in this grant, will not be ascribed solely to avarice : On some occasions, his fault lies in the

* It is a matter of some curiosity to trace the progress of the consumption of this unnecessary commodity : The use of tobacco seems to have been first introduced into England about the year 1586. Possibly a few seafaring persons may have acquired a relish for it by their intercourse with the Spaniards previous to that period : But the use of it cannot be denominated a national habit, sooner than the time I have mentioned. Upon an average of the seven years immediately preceding the year 1622, the whole import of tobacco into England, amounted to a hundred and fifty two thousand and eighty five pounds weight.

Stith, p. 246.

From this it appears, that the taste had spread with a rapidity, which is remarkable. But how inconsiderable is that quantity, to what is now consumed in Great Britain.

Robertson's Am. vol. IV. p. 212.

other extreme, and he is prodigal, if not *generous, and not judicious, in his bounty. Perhaps we shall not err widely; if we account for the king's oppressions towards the colony, not by any single consideration, but by joining those, which have been already recited, to his aversion to tobacco, to his partiality for Spain, and to his abhorrence of the political principles of the company, and the free government they had established in Virginia.

A SLIGHT attention to the conduct of the king, in an affair of some consequence to the company, but no ways connected with revenue, will justify this reasoning. This very year, unabashed by his former repulse in a similar attempt, he sent a message to the company, with the names of four gentlemen, who, he expressed his wish might be permitted to stand in nomination for the place of treasurer at the ensuing election.

Motives of
the king's
conduct.

HAVING once procured by intrigue or influence, the appointment of so important an officer, he hoped that a complete change might be effected, as well in the company's charter, as in the government of Virginia, without noise or alarm; a mode, which he did not hesitate to prefer to the arbitrary exercise of authority, at the present juncture: For the parliaments, grown every year bolder and more clear-sighted, by partial successes over the prerogative, and by the habitual exercise of vigilance, scarcely permitted a single grievance to pass without censure or redress.

Second attempt of the king to influence the company's election.

THE king had however, the mortification to hear, that the earl of Southampton was re-elected by a great majority, in despite as it were, of his nomination; to which so little respect was attach-

Is defeated.

* *Hume's Eng. vol. IV. p. 324.*

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ed, that only eight votes, out of more than seventy, were given to the candidates of the crown.

BUT the time was fast approaching, when the decent respect to forms, as well as all regard to law and justice, were to be laid aside, and the rights of the company, without color or pretext, would be sacrificed to the insatiable avarice and unappeasable rancor of the king. Several preparatory steps were however thought requisite, to this great event. Enquiries were secretly made into the affairs of the company, and the proceedings of the government in Virginia, in the hope of collecting circumstances of mismanagement, or mal-administration; whilst with a meanness, in perfect consonance with the whole of the royal deportment, complaints and accusation of real or pretended grievances, sustained by individuals, were openly invited and countenanced.

It is not to be wondered at, that the integrity of several individuals was not proof against the allurements of royal favor and bounty; or that in an establishment of a nature so singular and extensive as that of Virginia, there should have been many who fancied themselves ill-treated, or were so in reality, by the company or its agents.

THE infirmity of human nature will not admit a clear and just decision in matters of civil controversy; and it does not often happen, that all those circumstances, which are necessary in forming a correct opinion, are seen in the same light by both parties to a suit. The faction of the earl of Warwick, in the London company, gave vigor to this evil by their intrigues, and by secretly holding out to the discontented, the factious, and unprincipled, the shew of protection, and the consolations of affected sympathy.

THE complainants, by a sort of theatrical management, were made to breathe out in successi-

on, their several griefs and oppressions in the presence of the king; ascribing invariably to the weakness and partiality of those, who were entrusted with power, their own misfortunes, and the decline of the colony.

THE king at first, willing to preserve the appearance of impartiality, listened to those complaints with affected moderation and indifference: But at length, as if all at once struck with their frequency, as well as their justness and importance, he resolved to enflame public opinion, by an investigation, which, as it would be carried on by creatures appointed by himself, would produce such effect only, as would most effectually answer his purpose. But whilst he was preparing to bring about this event, a violent dispute, aggravated by personal insults, by the bitter retorts and sarcasms of angry recrimination, burst forth in the meetings of the company in their quarter courts. These dissensions, springing from the deadly, long buried malignity of faction, admitted of no cure, and in the end, furnished the king with the pretext he wanted, of investing himself with the property of the company, and the sole arbitrary government of Virginia.

THE contract for tobacco having gone through the necessary formalities, a committee was appointed for the purpose of chusing such officers, and adopting such regulations, as were thought necessary to carry it into operation. The appointment of officers was of primary importance; and after some consideration, they judged it necessary that there should be one principal officer, whose title should be director; one deputy director, a treasurer, and a committee of eight, to assist the director with their advice, beside clerks and inferior agents, whose salaries should aggregate two thousand pounds per annum. The committee de-

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ment of of-
ficers under
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cided, that this sum, together with five hundred pounds, which was to be set apart for extraordinary and contingent expences, should be raised by something like a tax on tobacco, for which it was proposed to indemnify the planters, by an advance in the price of that commodity.

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Mr. Wrote.

THE earl of Southampton, as chairman, having reported, respecting the estimates and appointments, the arrangements, with little material alteration, were adopted at a general meeting of the company. But in a subsequent and inferior court, Mr. Wrote, a member of the Virginia council, whose previous conduct had been invariably marked by great moderation, judgment, and industry, to the surprize of every one, broke out into the most violent invectives against the salaries, which he stated to have been carried surreptitiously and for private ends, contrary to the laws and orders of the company....alledging, as the reason why so little opposition was made to them, that the company were overawed.

His opposition to the salaries.

HAD this conduct of Mr. Wrote originated in a regard to economy, it ought to have entitled him to our respect, and enhanced his reputation, already so well established for prudence and integrity: But if the names and characters of his associates in this opposition, the earl of Warwick, alderman Johnson, Sir T. Rich and his faction, be taken into consideration; when it shall be known, that these men, who generally absented themselves from the courts, crouded in with visible impatience and curiosity on this occasion; that Mr. Wrote himself had private access to the ear and presence of the king, for his attachment to whom he pretended he contended and suffered; it is scarcely permitted us to doubt, that the new-born loyalty and sudden conversion of this man, were

parts of a premeditated and concerted plot against the company.

THE first and immediate consequence of these disputes was, the recal of the patent by the king, without any reason assigned for this step, or any plan being substituted in its place. The patent was a real grievance, and its mischiefs were aggravated by the dissensions and schism it had created : But the present condition of the company was changed materially for the worse, by its recal : For the feuds and divisions remained ; and the only staple commodity of Virginia was exposed to certain depreciation and decay, by the free importation of this article permitted by the king. The first produce of an infant colony, would have to compete in its own markets, with the first quality of old and settled plantations. The king indeed, and the treasurer, promised, that not more than forty thousand weight of Spanish tobacco should be imported : But they knew by experience, that there was nothing sacred in the royal promise, their utmost importunity having repeatedly failed in procuring the four hundred young men, to supply the places of those slain in the massacre.

Two petitions were presented to his majesty at this time, by members of the royal, or, as they are called by Stith, of the Warwickian faction.... One by alderman Johnson, entitled, " The humble petition of sundry adventurers and planters in the Virginia and Somer's Islands plantations : " The other by Nathaniel Butler, a creature of the earl of Warwick, " under the starched and affected title of, " The unmasked face of our colony in Virginia, as it was in the winter *1622.

Alderman
Johnson's
petition.

* Stith.

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THE substance of Johnson's paper was,

THAT among the many memorable works of his majesty's gracious reign, the plantations of Virginia and the Somer-Islands were not the least considerable : That these were the first American colonies, attempted and brought to effect, by the English nation : That the beginning of the enterprize was attended with so great an expence, without any present hope of retribution, as was sufficient, at the first view and computation, to have discouraged the most resolute adventurers : That however, by the divine assistance, and his majesty's gracious encouragement, together with that mild and discreet government, at first settled and appointed by his majesty, all sorts of men were, in such kind and friendly manner, invited and induced to engage themselves in it, that notwithstanding those many difficulties, that great action, which must otherwise have perished in the birth, not only took life and being, but also proceeded, for many years, in a most hopeful and comfortable course : That there was then unity and love among themselves at home, and peace and quiet with the savages abroad ; by which means, sundry of those infidels, and some of eminent rank, were converted to the christian religion, and many staple commodities began to be raised and imported into England : That such were the blessings, in those times, upon their just and peaceable proceedings ; whereas it had come to pass, they knew not how, that notwithstanding his majesty's subjects had been, in great multitudes, transported to the plantations, yet the aforesaid commodities, and the other fruits of the enterprize, had not appeared of late, as in former times ; their unity at home was turned into civil discord and dissention ; and their peace abroad, into massacre and hostility between the natives

and the colony ; and that many of the ancient adventurers and planters, conceived themselves to be many ways injured, abused, and oppressed :

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THAT fearing, upon these accounts, without the help of a supreme hand, the utter ruin and destruction of those great and noble undertakings, and not holding it fit to trouble his majesty's sacred ears with all particular complaints and allegations, they humbly besought him, to nominate and appoint some worthy persons, by commission under the great seal of England, who by oath, or otherwise, by all lawful ways and means, should enquire and examine....what was the true state of the colonies, at the time, when sir Thomas Smith left the government of the companies ; what monies had been collected for the plantations ; by whom received, and how the same had been procured and expended ; and what, after so vast an expence, was the present state, and condition of the colonies : That the said commissioners should also enquire into all grievances and abuses ; what wrongs had been done to any of the adventurers or planters, together with the grounds and causes thereof ; and should propose, how the same might in time to come, be reformed and prevented ; and how the business of the colonies might be better managed and carried on....So that all contentions being reconciled, the authors thereof condignly punished, peace and unity restored, and the government of affairs better established, those noble works might go on and prosper with a blessing from heaven, to his majesty's great honor and profit, and to the religious and public ends, for which they were at first undertaken.

THE paper of Butler contains a frightful picture of the English plantations in Virginia, embracing at once their position, climate, producti-

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Capt. Butler's unmasked state.

ons, and government, and taken, as he pretends from actual observations on the spot.

The substance of this is given, in order that the reader may see at one view, the grounds of the opposition to the company: The other papers, which are necessary for explaining this subject, shall be inserted in the appendix.

HE states, that he found the English plantations generally seated upon mere marshes, full of infectious bogs and muddy creeks and lakes; and thereby subject to all those inconveniences and diseases, which are commonly found in the most unhealthy parts of England, whereof every country and climate hath some.

II. THAT he found the shores and sides of those parts of the main river, where the plantations were settled, every where so shallow, that no boat could approach them. So that, besides the difficulty, danger, and spoil of goods in landing, the poor people were forced to a continual wetting and wading, and that in the winter, when the ships commonly arrived; and that they thereby got such surfeits of cold upon cold, as never left them, till they were brought to their graves.

III. THAT the people, sent over, arriving, for the most part, very unseasonably in winter, found neither guest-house, inn, nor any such place, to shelter themselves from the weather; no, not so much as a stroke given, towards any such charitable and necessary work. So that many, for want hereof, were not only seen dying under hedges, and in the woods, but being dead, lay some of them many days, unregarded and unburied.

IV. THAT the colony, that winter, was in great distress for provisions, so that English meal was sold for thirty, and their own native corn, called maize, for ten and fifteen shillings a bushel. But

that, however heavy this might lay upon the poor people, there were reasons to suspect, it was not unaffected by the chief men. For they only having the means, in these extremities, to trade with the natives, did hereby engross all into their hands, and sell it out at their own prices. To which he added, that he himself had heard from the mouth of a prime one among them, that he would never wish their own corn cheaper, than eight shillings a bushel.

V. THAT their houses were generally the worst he had ever seen; the meanest cottages in England being every way equal, if not superior, to the best houses in Virginia. And that besides, they were seated so improvidently, and scattered one from another, as partly by their distance, but especially by the interposition of creeks and swamps, they offered all advantages to the savage enemy, and were utterly deprived of the means of sudden recollection, upon any emergent occasion.

VI. THAT he found not the least piece of fortification: That three pieces of ordnance only were found at James City, and one at Flower-de-Hundred, but not one of them serviceable. So that it was certain, that a small bark of one hundred tons might take its time, to pass up the river, and coming to an anchor before James Town, might beat all their houses about their ears, and so forcing them to retreat into the woods, land under the favor of their ordnance, and rifle the town at pleasure.

VII. THAT expecting, according to their printed accounts, to find sundry commodities in great forwardness, he found not any of them so much so as in any towardness of being. For the iron-works were utterly wasted, and the people dead; the glass furnaces at a stand, and in small hopes

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of proceeding ; and as for the rest, they were had in great derision, even among themselves ; and the pamphlets concerning them, being sent thither by hundreds, were laughed to scorn, and every base fellow gave them the lie in divers particulars. So that the tobacco was their only business, and for ought he could observe, every man maddened upon that, and little thought of, or looked after, any thing else.

VIII. THAT he found the ancient plantations of Henrico and Charles City quite deserted, and abandoned to the spoil of the Indians ; who not only burnt the houses, (said to be once the best in the country) but fell upon their stocks of all kinds, and killed and destroyed them, to the great grief, as well as utter ruin to the old inhabitants : who stuck not to affirm, that these were not only the best and most healthy parts of the country, but might also, by their natural strength of situation, have been the most easily preserved of all others.

IX. THAT whereas, according to his majesty's gracious letters patent, his people in Virginia were to be governed, as near as possibly could be, according to the excellent laws and customs of England, he found, not only ignorant and forced errors in divers particulars, but also wilful and designed deviations from law : Insomuch, that some persons, who urged due conformity to his majesty's gracious intentions, were termed, in contempt, *men of the law*, and were even excluded from those rights, which they were elected and sworn unto in England.

X. THAT there having been, as it was thought, ten thousand souls transported to Virginia, there were not, at that present, through the aforesaid abuses and neglects, above two thousand of them to be found, and many of those also, in a most sickly and desperate state. So that it might be

undoubtedly expected, unless the confusions and private ends of some of the company in England, and the bad execution of their agents in Virginia, were speedily redressed, by a divine and supreme hand, instead of a plantation, it would shortly get the name of a slaughter-house, and so justly become odious to themselves, and contemptible to all the world.

THE company, throughout the whole of this trying and perilous scene, displayed an energy and spirit, which, if they could not prevent, at least for some time protracted the fate which threatened them. Copies of the petitions of Johnson and Butler, although they were prepared and given in to his majesty with all possible secrecy, were procured for the company; and they were enabled in their answers, so far as honest conviction was in question, to exhibit a complete refutation of those slanders. Respectable *men, who had lived for several years in Virginia, voluntarily came forward, to belie the accusations of Butler; while the facts alledged in the paper of Johnson, being immediately within the cognizance of the members themselves, were assailed by evidence, which fell little short of demonstration. But the indignant spirit of the company would not be satisfied by a war merely defensive: Having first, by every measure of prudence, replied to the accusations of their enemies, and established their innocence and integrity, they proceeded to a bold and galling †scrutiny into the motives, characters and conduct of their opponents.

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* See paper AA, appendix.

† See paper BB, appendix.

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Sir FWyatt
governor.May 9.
Commissi-
oners ap-
pointed.Records of
company
seized.

THESE papers were laid before the king by some of their most conspicuous members, in the vain expectation, that the plainness and justice of the case would satisfy him, that the charges were groundless and malicious. They even condescended to reply to several objections of the privy council, one of which was, that the government of the colony was *democratical: But this weak prince, in defiance alike of law and plain equity, in obedience to the prayer of Johnson's petition, two days after, issued a commission under the great seal, to sir William Jones, sir Nicholas Fortescue, sir Francis Groston, sir Richard Sutton, sir William Pitt, sir Henry Boucheer, and sir Henry Spiller, or any four of them, to enquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement.

To enable them to carry on this enquiry, all the records of the company, of what nature soever, were †seized by order of the privy council, the deputy treasurer was imprisoned, and on the arrival of a ship from Virginia, her packets were seized for the inspection of the ‡council..... Measures like these could not fail of explaining to the company the true motives and final aim of the king; and they were too well acquainted with the qualities of his heart and understanding, to hope for any abatement or alleviation of their sentence.

THE proceedings of these commissioners have

* See paper CC, appendix.

† Records of Virginia, MS. penes me.

‡ Stith.

never transpired, but that their report was unfavorable to the company, is easy to be collected from the result : The king, by an order of council, dated October, one thousand six hundred and twenty three, made known, that having taken into his princely consideration, the distressed state of Virginia, occasioned by the ill-government of the company, he had resolved, by a new charter, to appoint a governor and twelve assistants, to reside in England ; and a governor and twelve assistants to reside in Virginia ; the former to be nominated by his majesty in council ; the latter to be nominated by the governor and assistants in England, and to be appointed by the king in council ; and that all proceedings should be subject to the royal direction.

THE company was ordered to assemble, and determine whether they would submit to those regulations, and resign their charter ; signifying at the same time his determination to recal their charter, in default of their submission.

NOTWITHSTANDING their knowledge of the king's character, the company did not hear this arbitrary mandate, without unfeigned surprize and indignation ; and it is said, that it was read over three times, as if they had distrusted their own ears. Owing to the shortness of the notice, the meeting was not large, compared with the actual numbers of the company, or the importance of the occasion. But however they might be astonished by those measures, they permitted not their conduct to be influenced by any fears of the consequences ; and when in the usual mode the ques-

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Proceed-
ings of com
missioners
secret.

Proposal of
king to the
company.

* Stith, 304.

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tion was taken, †twenty-six only, voted for a sur-
render, and one hundred and twelve against it.

THIS decision was supported by the following arguments, which were designed merely to gain time, and soften their refusal. They said, it was matter of such weight and consequence, that they thought themselves to have no power to give an answer to it, in that ordinary court; for such courts were, by their charters, only permitted to treat of casual and particular occurrences of less consequence; but all weighty affairs, and particularly all things relating to government, were restrained by the precise words of their letters patent, to quarter courts only. Wherefore, whilst their present patents were in force, that ordinary court had no authority, to determine such a matter as this, being of the highest and most important nature, that had ever been proposed to them. To which it was added, that, in obedience to their charters, they had never taken to themselves the liberty, to dispose of a single share of land, but in their quarter courts; and they conceived themselves much more, even in conscience, bound not to betray their trust, and so suddenly pass away all the rights of themselves, and the rest of their numerous society, and of all the planters in Virginia also, who were equally interested with them in their letters-patent. They therefore besought their lordships, that their answer might, upon these just grounds, be respited till the quarter court; which, being the nineteenth of November, was not far off; and against then, they should have leisure to consider well of so weighty a proposition: And to this end, they ordered a very large and particular

† The precise number of the Warwickian faction.

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summons to be given to all the adventurers, against that day; and that their officers should give them especial notice of the business, then to be treated; and desire them, in the company's name, not to fail to be present; which, if they did, they would be without excuse, and would have no manner of pretence, to complain afterwards.

THIS answer was declared by the council to be merely dilatory, and the company were strictly enjoined to meet on the twentieth of May, and to deliver a clear, direct and final answer.

IN obedience to this order, an extraordinary court was summoned with all possible dispatch, by Mr. deputy Farrar, in which the question of surrender was put in the precise language prescribed by the council. Owing to the shortness of the notice, only seventy members were present, of whom nine only voted for the surrender; and an answer was accordingly returned, of their determination to defend their charter.

MEANWHILE the report of these strange and tyrannical proceedings, gave a violent shock to the credit of the company, and consequently to the spirit of commercial enterprize, so essential to the well-being and very existence of the colony.... These consequences became so manifest, that the privy council thought proper to issue an order, "That for so much as concerned the private interest of every man, his majesty's royal care was such, that no man should receive any prejudice in his property, but should have his estate fully and wholly conserved to him, and if any thing was found defective, better secured: so that none needed to apprehend any such fears and inconveniences, but contrariwise, cheerfully proceed." This order concluded with an absolute command, that all ships bound to Virginia, should be forthwith dispatched.

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governor.Commissi-
oners ap-
pointed to
proceed to

THE proceedings of the commissioners still remained a profound secret. It is fair to presume however, that though their report might generally be unfavorable to the company, it contained not sufficient matter of particular allegation, sustainable by evidence : For the lords of the privy council thought proper, on the twenty-fourth of October, to appoint John Harvey, John Pory, Abraham Piersey, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson, gentlemen, to be their commissioners to proceed to Virginia.

‘ To make particular and diligent enquiry touching divers *matters, which concerned the state of Virginia, and in order to facilitate this enquiry, the governor and council in Virginia were ordered to assist the commissioners in this scrutiny, by all their knowledge and influence.’

HITHERTO the king, notwithstanding the flagrant dishonesty of his intentions, suffered his proceedings to be regulated by the forms at least of law ; and it is evident, that he was not a little solicitous about the opinion of the public. He had supported the character of umpire or judge, in the disputes between the adventurers, with tolerable impartiality ; and his appointment of commissioners was calculated to impress the nation with an opinion of his justice and integrity : But his im-

* The subjects of their enquiry were, “ How many plantations there be ; which of them be public and which private ; what people, men, women, and children there be in each plantation ; what fortifications, or what place is best to be fortified ; what houses, and how many ; what cattle, arms, ammunition, and ordnance ; what boats and barges ; what bridges and public works ; how the colony standeth in respect of the savages ; what hopes may be truly conceived of the plantation, and the means to attain those hopes.”

Instructions to commissioners, MS, penes me.

patience was too strong to be held in check by such considerations ; and immediately after the departure of the commissioners, and without waiting for the result of their enquiries, he directed a writ of quo warranto to issue out of the court of king's bench, against the company, for the purpose of trying their title to their charter. The prerogative of the king was so undefined, that the judges, who are *always the creatures of the king, would pronounce such decision only, as would gratify their master ; and the king, aware of the whole influence of his station, rested in full conviction of a complete triumph in the contest.

MEANWHILE the company prepared for their defence, with a courage and judgment equal to the importance of the occasion.

It has been already hinted, that the Virginia and Somer's Islands companies, were composed of the most respectable and eminent characters in the nation, and that the most conspicuous members of both houses of parliament, frequently assembled and debated in their courts. The forms of these assemblies were modelled on the proceedings of the house of commons.

ON the present occasion, the assembly formed itself into a grand committee, somewhat analogous to the committee of the whole house in parliament, when "the state of the nation," or any question of national importance, is under discussion. At this meeting, the proceedings of the former courts, which had refused the surrender, were (with the exception of seven dissenting voices) solemnly ratified and confirmed ; and a petiti-

* See British constitution as delineated by even its eulogists, de Lolme and Blackstone.

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on was prepared to the lords of the privy council, for the restitution of their papers and records, without which it was utterly impossible for them to manage their defence.

It does not appear that any reply was given to this petition, by the council: However, the attorney general represented, that those papers were essential to them for their defence.

Books and
papers re-
stored.

A REPRESENTATION so strongly marked by reason and equity, could scarcely fail of success, even amongst their corrupt and the prejudiced judges. To refuse the production of evidence, undeniably within their reach, and essential to their defence, would be a denial of one of the plainest and fundamental principles of English law. The deputy treasurer was therefore liberated, and the papers were restored. But looking farther than the decision of the mere question pending in the king's bench, the company were not satisfied with the use of those papers for the purposes specified. Their re-delivery was protracted on various pretences, until copies were taken of every thing material for the future establishment of their rights, and the recovery of their interest.

POSSIBLY the earl of Southampton and the other conspicuous members, did not despair of urging at some future day with success before an enlightened and spirited house of commons and independent judiciary, a claim whose validity was unquestionable before any honest tribunal: And if we consider the march of public opinion for the last fourteen years, such an opinion is far from extravagant.

Copies se-
cretly taken

BE this matter as it may, these copies were deposited in the hands of the earl of Southampton; and although mr. Stith declares himself entirely unacquainted with the circumstance of their restoration to the company, these were the identical

papers from which he compiled his history ; and with the addition of a volume, which he did not see, they are at this moment entire in the hands of the writer.

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WHILST these new and unprecedented measures were pursued in Europe, the colony in Virginia was rapidly recovering the loss it had sustained by the massacre. Several successes over the Indians, contributed to restore their courage and confidence, whilst a rich and abundant harvest chased away all apprehension of famine. They had failed in their attempt to seize Opetchancanough ; but several war chiefs of lesser note had fallen into their snares, and were slain, with numbers of their people. The governor himself shared in the general toils and credit of these expeditions, and we are told that he entered the Patowmac in person, and took a severe revenge on the Pascoticons.*

As some evidence that this spirit was at this time general, it may not be amiss to state, that he issued commissions to captain William Pierce, captain of his guard, and lieutenant-governor of James City, to go against the Chickahominies ; to captain N. West, to go against the Appamatocks and Taux-Wyanokes ; to captain Samuel Matthews, against the Taux-Powhatans ; and to captain William Tucker, commander of Kickotan, and the lower parts, against the Nansamonds and Warrasqueakes. These several parties, attacked the Indians on the same day, and slew considerable numbers. A short time after, captain Maddison marched against the Great Wya-

Expeditions
against
Indians.

July 23d.

* A tribe which had murdered Henry Spillman, who had been saved by Pocahontas.

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Sir F. Wyatt
governor.

General as-
sembly con-
vened.

Their an-
swers to
Johnson &
Butler.

nokes, and capt. Tucker proceeded a second time against the Nansamonds.

THE early part of this year, the commissioners arrived in Virginia; and writs were issued for summoning a general assembly.

It does not appear that this was at the instance or request of the commissioners; for they appeared equally studious to conceal their commission and intentions....and equal care had been taken by the king and council in England, by intercepting private letters, and by strict injunctions of secrecy to the company, to conceal the whole of the royal proceedings. But spite of all this precaution, the assembly had procured copies of Johnson's and Butler's petitions: And by the twentieth of February, six days after their meeting, they had prepared answers to these papers. Their motives for noticing such matter, and the spirit and boldness of their language, may be collected from their preamble, wherein they say, 'that they holding it a sin against God and their own sufferings, to permit the world to be abused with false reports, and to give to vice the reward of virtue....They, in the name of the whole colony of Virginia, in their general assembly met, many of them having been eye witnesses and sufferers in those times, had framed out of their duty to their country, and love to truth, the following answer given to the praises of Sir T. Smith's government, in the said declaration.'

THIS *declaration was signed by sir F. Wyatt, governor, by George Sandys, John Potts, John Pountis, Roger Smith, and Ralph Hamer, of the council, and by William Tucker, William Pierce, Raleigh Crashaw, Samuel Matthews, Jabez Whi-

* See paper DD.

taker, and others, to the number of twenty-four, of the house of burgesses.

THE reply to Butler was subscribed by the same persons, with the addition of the honorable F. West, brother to the late, and uncle to the then lord de la War, and sir G. Yeardley, of the council, and one other of the house of *burgesses. A petition was next drafted to the king; and these papers, with the addition of a letter to the privy council, were committed to the trust of Mr. Pountis, one of the council, who was appointed to solicit †the general cause of the colony; and four pounds of tobacco were levied on every titheable that had been a year in the country, to defray the charges of his mission. But ‡this gentleman died on his passage, and the objects of his commission were defeated.

THEIR letter to the privy council which, is given at ¶large in the appendix, marks strongly the hold, which liberty had gained on their affections:.... Their principal prayer being, “that the governors may not have absolute power, and that they might still retain the liberty of popular assemblies, than which, to use their own words, nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and public utility.”

MEANWHILE the commissioners under various pretexts, still withheld from the assembly the

* And this I judge (or the number of twenty-five which subscribed the answer to Butler) was nearly about the full number of the house of burgesses at that time.

Stith, 207.

† *Stith*. ‡ *Ibidem*.

¶ See paper EE.

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sight of their commission, and the other papers with which they had been charged ; it was therefore thought adviseable by the governor and assembly to oppose to this artful and suspicious department, a secrecy and reserve on their part, equally mysterious and impenetrable. But in a contest of this kind, the manly and discreet vigilance of the colonists was easily overmatched by the base and dishonorable artifice of European diplomacy. Pory, one of the commissioners who had succeeded Mr. Rolfe as secretary of Virginia, from which place he had been discharged by the company for betraying their councils to the earl of Warwick, found means to suborn Edward Sharpless, clerk of the council, to give him copies of the proceedings of that body and the assembly.

THIS treachery, notwithstanding the pains taken to conceal it, by some means came to the knowledge of the Virginia government, who punished the clerk by the loss of his ears ; and an account was transmitted to the company of the conduct of Pory, expressive of the highest abhorrence of his baseness and treachery.

THE commissioners, perceiving that nothing was to be gained by cunning or treachery, over a body who suspected their arts, and were continually on the watch to defeat them, consented at length to explain some of their powers, and endeavored, by a mixture of intimidation and flattery, to induce the assembly to petition his majesty for a revocation of their charter.

THE object of this proposal, if successful, was to make them the instruments of their own disfranchisement, and to expose to fresh obloquy the company, by so plain and general a disaffection to their authority.

BUT this spirited and highly intelligent body, saw at once through this artifice, and in their an-

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Commissioners reduced to a dilemma.

swer, requested them to produce the authority under which this proposal had been made....adding farther, that "as they could not see how this proposition had any ground in the instructions they had yet seen, they desired, before the assembly returned an answer, that the commissioners would show them the depth of their authority; or otherwise set it down under their hands, that they had no further commission or instructions, which might concern them."

THIS indeed was a dilemma against which the commissioners, with all their talents at intrigue and corruption, were wholly unprepared: They saw themselves at once compelled, either to lay open their full and entire powers, to abandon all mystery and reserve; or, to acknowledge themselves unauthorised agents, officiously obtruding their advice, and subjecting themselves to the charge of impertinence, and the mortifying penalties of contempt.

THEIR reply to this question, manifested the deepest mortification and disappointment, although they labored to conceal their feelings under a shew of resentment, and general professions of patriotism and good intention. But the mystery yet remained unexplained; and the assembly, after giving full and particular answers to their questions respecting the state of the colony, which was the only declared motive for their visit to Virginia, proceeded to the ordinary work of legislation, as if no such persons as the commissioners had ever been in existence.

THE laws of this assembly consisted of thirty-five *articles.

Laws of assembly.

* For that manner (taken I presume from the articles sent over by sir Thomas Smith) was at this time, and con-

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THE first seven related to the church and ministry, and enacted: That in every plantation, where the people were wont to meet for the worship of God, there should be a house or room set apart for that purpose, and not converted to any temporal use whatsoever; and that a place should be empaled and sequestered only for the burial of the dead: That whosoever should absent himself from divine service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, should forfeit a pound of tobacco, and that he who absented himself a month, should forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco: That there should be an uniformity in the church, as near as might be, both in substance and circumstance, to the canons of the church of England; and that all persons should yield a ready obedience to them, upon pain of censure: That the twenty-second of March (the day of the massacre) should be solemnized and kept holy; and that all other holidays should be observed, except when two fell together in the summer season (the time of their working and crop) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their necessities and employment: That no minister should be absent from his cure above two months in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary; and whosoever was absent above four months, should forfeit his whole salary and his cure: That whosoever should disparage a minister, without sufficient proof to justify his reports, whereby the

tinued long after, the usual way of drawing up and enacting their laws; which indeed had this good in it, that all tedious forms were thereby cut off, and the main sense and substance of their acts appeared at once, in clear and precise terms. As these laws are the oldest that I can now find upon our records, and as they contain some things of especial note, I shall here present them to the reader.

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minds of his parishioners might be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual, should not only pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, but should also ask the minister forgiveness publicly in the congregation: That no man should dispose of any of his tobacco, before the minister was satisfied, upon forfeiture of double his part towards the salary; and that one man of every plantation should be appointed to collect the minister's salary, out of the first and best tobacco and corn.

THE eighth and ninth articles related to the governor's power: That he should not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, otherwise than by the authority of the general assembly; to be levied and employed as the said assembly should appoint: That he should not withdraw the inhabitants from their private labours to any service of his own, under any color whatsoever; and if the public service should require the employment of many hands, before another general assembly met to give order for the same, in that case the levying men should be done by the order of the governor, and whole body of the council; and that, in such sort, as to be least burthensome to the people, and most free from *partiality.

* Thus early was the assembly, out of the memory of their past miseries and oppressions, studious and careful to establish our liberties; and we had here, by the ready concurrence of this excellent governor, a *petition of right* passed above four years before that matter was indubitably settled and explained in England. For these two articles contain the same in effect as that famous explanatory and fundamental law of the English constitution, viz:

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THE other articles enacted : That all the old planters who were here before, or came in at the last arrival of sir Thomas Gates (in August, one thousand six hundred and eleven) should both themselves and their posterity, except such as were employed to command in chief, be exempted from their personal service in the wars, and from all other public charges (church duties only excepted) but without the like exemption of their servants and families : That no burgess of the general assembly should be arrested during the sitting of the assembly, and a week before and week after, upon pain of the creditor's forfeiting his debt, and such punishment upon the officer, as the court should award : That there should be courts kept once a month in the corporations of Charles-City and Elizabeth-City, for deciding suits and controversies, not exceeding the value of one hundred pounds of tobacco, and for punishing petty offences ; and that the commanders of the places, with such others as the governor and council shall appoint by commission, should be judges, the commanders to be of the quorum, and sentence given by majority of voices ; with reservation nevertheless of appeal, after sentence, to the governor and council ; and that whosoever appealed and was cast upon such appeal, should pay double damages : That every private planter's dividend of land should be surveyed and laid off separately, and the bounds recorded by the surveyor, who shall have ten pounds of tobacco for every hundred acres surveyed ; and that all

“ A fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental liberty of his person.”

Hume's Eng. vol. IV. p. 381.

petty differences between neighbors about their bounds, should be decided by the surveyor, but if of importance, referred to the governor and council: That, for the people's encouragement to plant store of corn, the price should be left free, and every man might sell it as dear as he could: (For the governor and council did then, and long afterwards, set a rate yearly upon all commodities, with penalties upon those who exceeded it). That there should be a public granary in each parish, to which every planter above eighteen years of age, who had been in the country a year, and was alive at the crop, should contribute a barrel of corn, to be disposed of for the public uses of the parish, by the major part of the freemen; the remainder to be taken out by the owners yearly, on St. Thomas's day, and the new brought and put in its room: That three capable men of every parish, should be sworn to see that every man planted and tended corn sufficient for his family; and that those who neglected so to do, should be presented by the said three men, to the censure of the governor and council: That all trade with the Indians for corn, as well public as private, should be prohibited after the June following: That every freeman should fence in a quarter of an acre of ground, before the Whitsuntide next ensuing, for planting vines, herbs, roots, and the like, under the penalty of ten pounds of tobacco a man; but that no man, for his own family, should be obliged to fence more than an acre; and that whosoever had fenced a garden, and was ousted of the land, should be paid for it by the owner of the soil; and that they should also plant mulberry trees: That the proclamation against swearing and drunkenness, set forth by the governor and council, were ratified by this assembly; and it was farther observed, that the church-wardens

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should be sworn, to present all offenders, to the commanders of their respective plantations; and that they should collect the forfeitures for public uses: That a proclamation should be read aboard every ship, and afterwards fixed to the mast, prohibiting them, without special order from the governor and council, to break bulk, or make private sale of any commodities, till they came up to James-City: That the ancient rates of commodities should still be in force; and that men should be sworn, in every plantation, to censure the tobacco: That there should be no weights or measures used, but such as were sealed, by officers appointed for that purpose: That every dwelling house should be palisadoed in, for defence against the Indians: That no man should go, or send abroad, without a sufficient party, well armed: That men should not go to work, without their arms and a sentinel set: That the inhabitants of the plantations should not go on board ships, or upon any other occasion, as thereby to weaken and endanger the plantation: That the commander of every plantation should take care, that there be sufficient of powder and ammunition in his plantation; and that their pieces be fixed, and arms complete: That there be sufficient watch kept, every night: That no commander of any plantation should either spend himself, or suffer others to spend powder unnecessarily, in drinking, entertainments, and the like: That such persons of condition, as were found delinquent in their duty, and were not fit to undergo corporal punishment, might notwithstanding be imprisoned at the discretion of the commander, and for greater offences, be subject to a fine, inflicted by the monthly court; so that it did not exceed the value aforesaid: That every person who had not found a man at the castle, (then building at War-

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rasqueake) should pay, himself and servants, five pounds of tobacco a head, towards defraying the charge of those, who had their servants there : That, at the beginning of July following, every corporation should fall upon the adjoining Indians ; and that those who should be hurt upon the service, should be cured at the public expence ; and if any were lamed, they should be maintained by the country, according to their person and quality : That for discharging such public debts, as their troubles had brought upon them, there should be levied ten pounds of tobacco upon every male, above sixteen years of age, then living ; but not including such, as had arrived since the beginning of July last : That no person, within this colony, should presume, upon the rumor of any supposed change and alteration in England, to be disobedient to the present government, nor servants to their private masters, officers, or overseers, at their utmost peril. And the last article related to the sending Mr. Pountis to England, and levying four pounds of tobacco ahead, to support his expences. Most of these laws were taken from preceding proclamations and orders of the governor and council ; and I find, that the governor was obliged, soon after, to issue a proclamation, forbidding women to contract themselves to two several men at one time. For women being yet scarce, and much in request, this offence was become very common ; whereby great disquiet arose between parties, and no small trouble to the government. It was therefore ordered That every minister should give notice in his church, that what man or woman soever, should use any word or speech, tending to a contract of marriage, to two several persons at one time, although not precise and legal, yet so as might entangle or breed scruple in their consciences, should,

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for such their offence, either undergo corporal correction, or be punished by fine, or otherwise, according to the quality of the person so offending."

It is not easy to read those laws, and not be inspired with the highest respect and reverence for those legislators, who at a time, when just notions of government were only in their dawn in England, and were unknown in the rest of Europe, had the intelligence and hardihood to trace the faint line between freedom and submission. One of their provisions respecting the powers of the governor, council, and assembly, and the rights of the people, has been justly considered equivalent, to a bill of rights. Such was the noble spirit infused into the colonists, by the company in London, whose conspicuous members were at the same time measuring their strength in the English parliament, with the giant prerogative.

MEANWHILE the company continued to exhibit, notwithstanding the arbitrary conduct of the king, their usual animated proceedings of assemblies and elections. It had been suggested, that sir F. Wyatt was desirous of leaving his government, at the expiration of his commission; and several reports industriously had been circulated, the object of which was plainly to weaken their confidence in this gentleman. But the company were too sensible of his worth to permit those rumors to have any effect; and he was re-elected, at once in opposition to his own wishes, and those of his enemies; his antagonist, sir Samuel Argall, having only eight votes out of seventy seven, given on this occasion.

WITH their usual vigor, they next proceeded to their enquiry into the state of their concerns, and the most probable and efficient means of se-

curing their rights, against the threatened aggression of the royal prerogative. They had long seen with concern, that all the avenues to the justice and mercy of the king, were barred by avarice and resentment: The house of commons had for some time, been considered as the grand council of the nation, and the faithful and only depository and asserter of national rights, and redressor of grievances. Their cause was justly esteemed, uniting, as it did, considerations of civil and political liberty, by its importance, as naturally within the cognizance of such a tribunal: And turning their backs forever on kings and councils, with a courage sharpened by indignation, and springing from despair, they resolved to lay their wrongs and oppressions before that body, which alone, beside themselves, had courage to resist the royal encroachments.

THIS petition set forth....

“THAT after divers discoveries had confirmed the opinion, that Virginia was situate in a temperate and wholesome climate, that the soil was rich and fertile, the country well watered with fruitful and navigable rivers, and that their ships, through a fair sea, might have a comfortable falling in on a safe coast, it pleased God to affect the minds of divers worthily disposed noblemen, gentlemen, and others, as to think it a matter of great religion and honor, to endeavor the propagation of christianity among those barbarous people, and to gain such a hopeful addition of territory to his majesty's dominions: That his majesty also, being informed thereof, and apprehending, that great honor and commodity would thence arise to this kingdom, was pleased, by his most gracious letters patent of incorporation, from time to time renewed and enlarged, to confer as ample privileges and immunities, both for their assistance, who

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should become directors of the business at home, and for their comfort and encouragement, that would settle and inhabit the country, as could be then foreseen and desired : That this gave so general an encouragement, that noblemen, knights, gentlemen, citizens, and others, in great numbers, became adventurers ; who, besides their money, afforded many other helps by their industry, towards the advancement and perfection of this noble work : And that, notwithstanding a multitude of accidents and disasters, incident to such undertakings in a remote and savage country, yet it pleased God, often to enliven their hopes and endeavors, by such an unbounded probability of obtaining, at least for the public and posterity, so beneficial a retribution for all their pains and expence, as would, in the end, crown their labors with as much glory, honor, and profit, to the realm of England, as could be well wished or expected.

THEY then proceeded to recount the several emoluments and advantages to England, which they had in their view and expectation. 1. The conversion of the savages to christianity, and establishing the first colony of the reformed religion. 2. The discharging the overplus of the necessitous people, which administered fuel to dangerous insurrections, and the leaving greater plenty for those, who remained. 3. The gaining a large territory, already known to be great, and which might prove to be much greater ; whose fertility of soil, and temperature of clime, agreed well with the English, and produced by nature and industry, whatever useful commodities were found in any known country. 4. The beneficial fisheries discovered ; which, together with the continual intercourse and commerce between people of the same nation, would contribute exceed-

ingly to the encrease of the English trade and navigation. 5. The vast quantity of timber and materials, for building and setting forth ships; whereof there was great scarcity throughout all Europe. 6. The assurance, that many rich trades might be found out there, and driven on to the incredible benefit of the nation; besides the no small hopes of an easy and short passage to the South-Sea, either by sea or land. 7. The inestimable advantage, that would be gained, in case of war, both for the easy assaulting the Spanish West Indies, and for the relieving and succoring all ships and men of war; the want thereof had in former times, disappointed and overthrown so many voyages. But hereby the benefit to the English would be certain, and the enemy's loss and annoyance inevitable. After which, they went on in the following manner.

BUT so it is, that now, when the natural difficulties, incident to all new plantations, are by diligence and tract of time, but most especially by the blessing of Almighty God, in a great measure overcome; yet there have arisen other unnatural impediments, proceeding from faction and discord, from the cunning courses and practices of some persons, who tended wholly to their own profit, from misemployment of the public stock, false accounts, and the like corruptions and diversions from the main business; and that these were so encreased of late, and supported by strong hand, as threatened speedy ruin and destruction to that excellent work, if remedies were not timely applied: That they, the council and company of Virginia, differed not a little from other companies; as well in their composition, consisting of principal noblemen, gentlemen, merchants and others; as in the ends, for which they were esta-

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blished, being not simply for matters of trade, but for things of a higher and more public nature : That nevertheless, finding themselves, in their body, as it was then distempered, unable to be their own physicians without higher assistance, they thought it their duty, as well to clear their own reputation, as in discharge of their conscience, and of the trust reposed in them, to represent to parliament this child of the nation, exposed, as in the wilderness, to extreme danger, and then fainting, as it were, and laboring for life.

THEY therefore, humbly entreated that honorable body, to take into their commiseration, the distressed colony and oppressed company ; and to receive an account from such of his majesty's council for Virginia, as, being members of their house, had been appointed by the company, to give them a full and exact relation of all their grievances and oppressions : Which, though of sundry kinds, yet had received, (as they doubted not to make evident) either their original strength from the lord high treasurer, out of his private and unjust designs ; not only to almost the overthrow of the colony, but also to the deception of his majesty in his profit and revenue, to the great prejudice of the whole kingdom in matter of trade, and even to points of dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject."

THIS petition was committed to the deputy treasurer, and those of the *council, who were members of the common's house, in order to be presented to that body. This was a bold measure indeed, and in this light was it considered by the king, who sent an angry letter to the speaker, prohibiting any discussion or even notice of this paper ;

* The executive of the company in England.

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and by the commons, who, though they had attained the summit of their wishes, in the recent rupture with Spain, and in the abridgment of the prerogative, were yet afraid, all at once, to put the axe to the root of all their old prejudices, and meet their monarch like a private citizen in the field of disputation.

It is stated, but I think without sufficient authority, that the prohibitory letter to the speaker was no sooner read, than the company's petition was ordered to be withdrawn; and the attempt made to account for this procedure by reasoning, is a sufficient evidence, that the fact is not completely established. The success of the royal interference on all similar occasions, improperly, is urged as a precedent which must decide the question. But circumstances had made the English parliament, during the last years of James, very different from what it had been. Indeed there is before us, one fact, in opposition to his reasoning: The company divided their grievances under four heads, and entrusted the special management of each, to one of their most conspicuous members. Now we find, that on one of those points, that of tobacco, they were successful; James having issued his proclamation at the instance of the commons, that no tobacco should be imported into England, which was not of the growth of the colonies.

In the midst of those discussions, the commissioners returned from Virginia, and made a report of their mission to the *king.

THE substance of their communication was....
"That the people sent to inhabit there, were most of them, by sickness, famine, and massacre of the

* Hazard, I. 190.....Stith knows nothing of any such report.

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savages, dead ; that those who were living, were in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages ; but that the country itself appeared to be fruitful, and to those who had resided there for some time, healthy ; that if industry were used, it would produce divers staple commodities, though for sixteen years past it had yielded few or none ; that this neglect must fall on the governors and company, who had power to direct the plantations ; that these plantations were of great importance, and would remain a lasting monument to posterity, of his majesty's gracious and happy government ; if the same were prosecuted to those ends, for which they were first undertaken ; that if the provisions and instructions of the first charter, 1606, had been pursued, much better effect had been produced, than by any alteration of it into so popular a cause, and amongst so many hands, as it then was, which caused much confusion and contention."

THIS report was such as might have been expected from the principles and feelings of the commissioners. They had been chosen by the king, from a previous knowledge of their characters, and they had encountered in Virginia a resistance on the part of the assembly, as formidable as it was unexpected. With all their arts and sophistry, they had not been able to make a single proselyte ; and during the latter part of their residence in the colony, notwithstanding the influence and authority of a royal commission, they had dwindled into such insignificance, that the constituted authorities affected to forget, not their mission only, but their very existence. A conduct like this, just and dignified as it was, could not fail to aggravate their prejudices, and embitter their resentments ; and it appears by the report, that the commissioners go out of their way to attack the con-

stitution of the colony, as "being a course too popular"....which is plainly a blow aimed at the assembly.

THIS report was all that was wanting in the estimation of the king, to justify his proceedings. He had not gone to work of his own mere will and motion, as he might have done, to dissolve this company, by the simple use of his prerogative: For several years he had patiently heard the arguments on both sides, and endeavored, by his gracious counsels, to heal their divisions. He had instituted two solemn enquiries into the company and the colony, both managed by men of probity and talents; and their reports concurred in pronouncing, that the company's government was weak and inefficient; and that the royal intervention could, alone, save the colony of Virginia from utter destruction. Under such circumstances, who could object to the propriety, to the necessity of this interference. The British nation was deeply interested in the prosperity of Virginia. If managed with liberality and prudence, she promised to encrease her riches and her power. Her territory was vast, the land fruitful, and the population would one day be considerable. All these were national objects, and who so fit to conduct and manage them, as the government of the nation. Such were the arguments used by the king and his friends on this occasion. It has been already seen, that the Virginia company and colony saw his conduct in a very different light, and from an accurate perusal of all public papers, and more especially from an attentive inspection of the records of the company, which are before me, I have no hesitation in declaring, that the king's conduct, as well in all these measures which have been noticed, as in the violent dissolution of the company, which follows, exhibits the most fla-

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grant violation of right, which has been recorded in history.

THE king immediately proceeded to wind up the drama, by a proclamation, ordering, in future the suppression of the company's meetings : And until some digested arrangement could be made, a committee of the privy council, by his directions, sat every Thursday at the house of Sir T. Smith ; whose functions were analogous to those formerly enjoyed by the council of the company.

The quo warranto was tried at Trinity term, in the king's bench ; and the decision was strictly consistent with the character of the judiciary, during the reign of James. Judgment was given against the company, and all the rights, interests, and privileges they possessed by charter, became, from this moment, vested in the king.

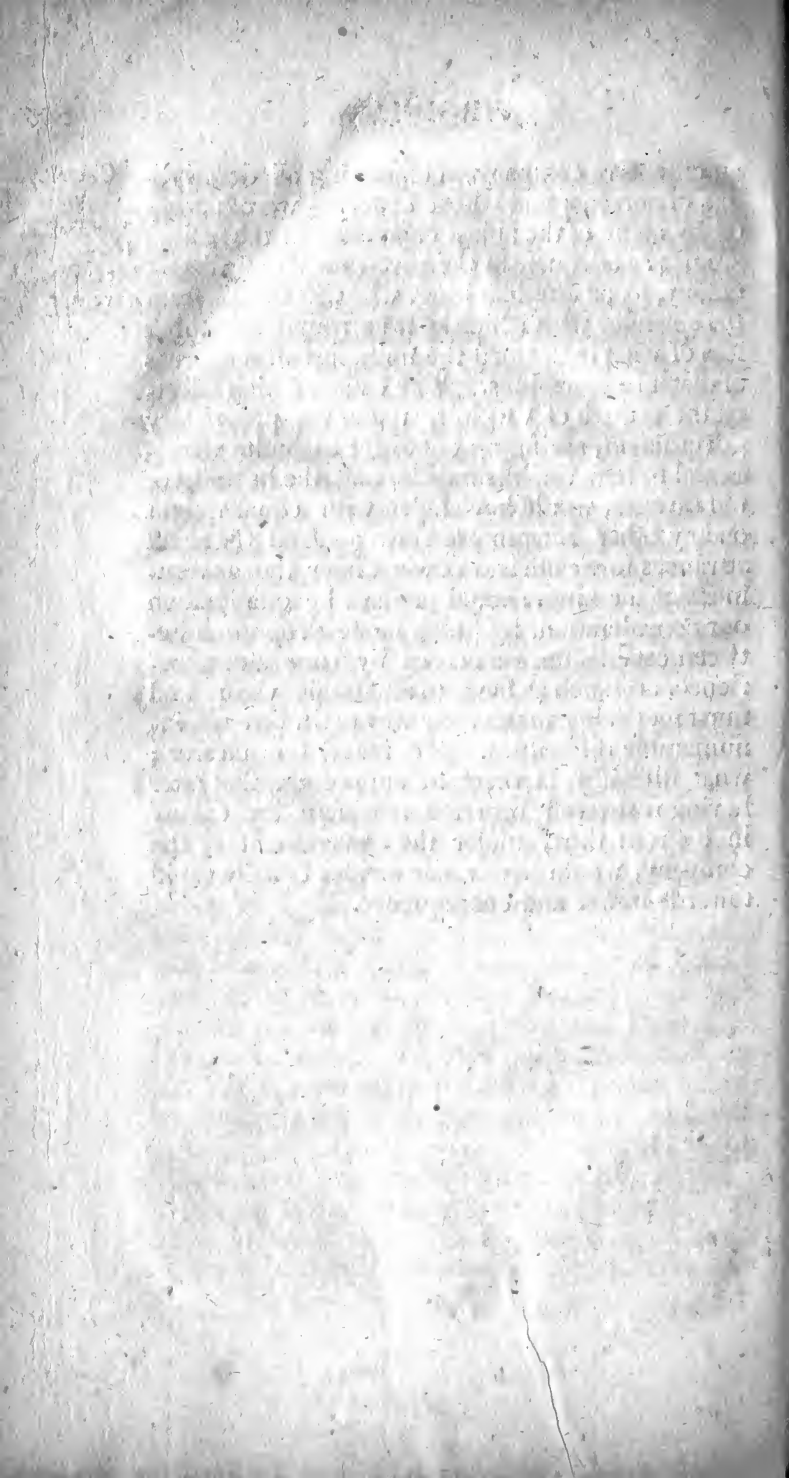
THUS sank the Virginia company, under the ascendancy of that power in the constitution, which had long menaced with annihilation, the privileges of parliament, and the rights of the people. That this act is indefensible on any known principles of law or justice, is given up by even those writers, who imagine the change both salutary and expedient : That the means employed were unworthy and dishonorable, I think is manifest to those who have read the foregoing pages. But is it even true, that the change from a proprietary to a royal government, was either expedient or salutary. On this head, there is no difference of opinion among our historians : Stith himself, notwithstanding the honest indignation with which he speaks of the measure itself, voluntarily conceded the point of expediency : Yet am I apt to think this opinion has been adopted, without sufficient reflection ; and I confess I cannot learn, why

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an extensive company, comprising all descriptions of persons, and whose concerns were managed by some of the ablest characters in the nation, are not as adequate to the government of a distant colony, as an English king, who will be apt, from the splendor with which he is surrounded, to think less of what is deemed the unimportant concerns of distant possessions. The causes which affected the growth of Virginia, under the proprietary government, springing out of the difficulties incidental to new establishments, and the hostility of the savages, would have fallen with equal weight on any other imaginable form : And the rapid advances to wealth and power under the government of the king, should perhaps be qualified in our consideration, by fixing some proportion between establishments nerved by time and experience, and such as have to attain this vigor, and must inevitably make their way to it, through innumerable difficulties. To make, this clearer ; what difficulty is there in supposing, that after having recovered from the massacre, the colony in a given time, under the government of the company, would have made strides equally rapid towards power and consequence.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

DURING the first eighteen years of the settlement of Virginia, the incidents are so numerous and diversified, that with every wish to be concise, I could not, consistently with my general plan, compress them within a narrower compass. In the commencement of any work, every material occurrence should be placed full in the view of the reader; the nature and origin of every institution fully explained; and the principal personages, who figure in it, be introduced with a suitable description of their characters and actions. If this be done, the bare recurrence of the names in the other parts of the work, will associate the knowledge of every thing essential respecting those things or persons:....The second volume will comprehend the history of more than a century. I dare not hope I have succeeded in my attempt to afford a clear and distinct knowledge of every particular to the reader; but I can truly say, my failure has not arisen from a want of industry: I have been too deeply impressed with the importance of the undertaking, to permit any other circumstance to divide my attention.

THAT the narrative is not more interesting, may with truth be ascribed in a great measure, to my want of talents: A severe illness of eighteen months, since I have undertaken this work,

ought perhaps to be admitted as some extenuation of its defects.

It will be recollected, that the works of the most eminent writers are extremely unequal in their execution. I shall content myself with citing one example, *Hume*: whose account of the early part of English history, is extremely superficial; and whose delineations of the houses of Tudor and Stewart, differ widely from each other in the merit of execution. This inequality, so visible in almost every writer, I apprehend, arises not unfrequently from the difference in the real interest and magnitude of the transactions they relate; and I am not without hope, that when I shall come to events of real dignity, though I should fail to ennoble my subject, it is not impossible that I shall myself, be *raised* by it.

THE AUTHOR.

APPENDIX.

The London company—nature of its government and forms of its proceedings—its political bias and opinions respecting religion. Different governments in the colony. Political temper of the times. State of learning. Its influence on the settlement of Virginia. Agriculture—manufactures—commerce. State of the Indian nations of Virginia. General reflections.

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THE London Company, whether we consider the number and character of its members, or the very conspicuous part they were called on to act, is one of the most singular associations, which has been recorded in history. By referring to the list of its members, which is subjoined at the end of this volume, it will be seen, that independent of a croud of gentlemen, barons, viscounts and earls, many of whom were the most prominent and conspicuous members of the British parliament, it contained almost all the *subordinate* corporations in London. Invested by their charter, which was supposed to be the highest species of tenure, flowing as it did from the fountain of all earthly honors, the king; with the government and the property of a large territory, they united the characters of legislators and proprietors. All the gradations of rank were forgotten at their meetings, and their elections were conducted on the natural and equitable principle of equality. - It is not surprising then, that their government as well

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as their forms, should finally become democratical; a vice, of which they were afterwards accused by the king, and which was probably the principal, if not the only, cause of their dissolution.

THE meeting of this singular company presented the appearance of an august popular assembly, invested with the government of a nation: And though they had an executive council, which like other executives, were presumed to be always in session, the love and the jealousy of liberty, and perhaps the seducing circumstance of dominion, (for here, each member was a ruler) suggested the propriety of frequent and more popular meetings. Monthly or inferior courts were holden once a month; whilst in their great courts, which sat four times in the year, were debated questions of a higher nature, with all the animation, the ability, and sometimes, the tumult of democratical assemblies.

In justice however, to this form of government, as well as to the company, it ought not to be concealed, that the tumult and discord which, in one or two instances, may be objected to them, arose from the interference of the king, and the concerted efforts of a small, but desperate knot of unprincipled men, who sought to bury their guilt in the dissolution of the company, and to reap, in the change of government, the rewards of their treason. The virtues, the talents, and (in general too,) the order and wisdom of their administration, were all their own.

At the time, when the first settlement was made at James Town, the extent of the royal prerogative was not precisely known; and although a free spirit was manifestly rising in the nation, and the parliament even went so far as to speak (tho' in respectful and modest terms) of their privileges, yet the range of royal discretion was a circle, whose

periphery was not exactly measured ; in the opinion of some, was too vast to be measured. The doctrines of the house of Tudor, were transmitted a fatal bequest, to their successors of the Stewart line : But the dawning genius of the age, and the expansive feelings and spirit, which literature creates, recoiled against the insolent assumption and exercise of power, which could boast no other title than precedent and prescription.

It was to be expected, that the London company, composed of such characters as have already been described, would not have been exempt from feelings, which agitated in some degree, all persons in the nation : And we find them accordingly, in defence of their chartered rights and privileges, seconding the national impulse, by manly and spirited exertions....whilst the walls of their assembly room responded to the house of commons, in the flights and sallies of fancy ; in the bold invective ; the spirited and poignant sarcasm, and the more lasting and impressive sounds of connected, profound and deliberate eloquence.

If it be permitted us to judge from the characters of the members, it may be safely pronounced, that the London company possessed a stronger relish for the beauties of literature, than any other association in the nation, not excepting even the house of commons itself ; and when we consider the solicitude they discover, both in their private resolves, and in their instructions to their governors, for the *propagation of knowledge in Virginia, by the endowment of schools and the establishment of an university, this conclusion appears to receive fresh confirmation.

THEIR treasurer, the earl of Southampton, was

* *Humé's Eng.* IV. p. 319.

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It was at this fortunate crisis, when the morals of the people were tolerably free from moral taint and contagion ; when a taste and genius for the fine arts were becoming brighter, more radiant and distinct in the horizon ; and when a new-born ardor in favor of liberty with the gripe of an infant Hercules, snapped the snaky cords with which tyranny had invaded its cradle ; at such a juncture was it, that the foundations of this commonwealth were laid, by architects, who, appreciating themselves, above all price the blessings of liberty, to which all their wishes and exertions were directed at home, were resolved in those regions to prepare a temple, within whose walls, the human race might find a refuge and asylum, from the persecutions and tyranny of privilege and prerogative.

It may be objected, that the company's government in Virginia, for several years was arbitrary and *tyrannical ; and that even martial law, every where justly considered odious by freemen, was long their favorite scheme of policy, and their guide in administration. It will perhaps be argued, that these facts (for it is admitted, they are facts) ought forever to do away the opinion of their patriotism ; and that, however attached they were themselves, to liberty ; however desirous of securing their own rights and privileges from invasion, they scrupled not like the Spartans in their treatment of the Helots, deliberately to disfran-

* *Rob. Em. posth. vol.*

chize the unhappy colonists of Virginia, lured from their country and kindred, on the faith of the solemn assurance and promise of freedom. These objections are certainly specious, but they are easily answered : The first government of the colony was admirably suited to circumstances.... There was no representative body, 'tis true ; for, there were no constituents. Much discretion was necessarily left to the governor and council ; and they might, and doubtless did, abuse it : But the charters as well as the instructions of the company, invariably pointed to the trial by jury, and recommended a strict observance of the guarded provisions of the British laws.

THE introduction of martial law, was an act of sir T. Smith, the treasurer ; and it was one of the principal charges against this officer, that without the company's knowledge, and in defiance of the rights of the colonists under the charter, and of their privileges as Englishmen, he ordered the governors to enforce those hateful and bloody statutes.

WE find them too, the first moments, a reformation was practicable, hastening to break the chains of the colonists, and unfolding, in the midst of the wilderness, the true principles of the representative system ; *universal suffrage, and equality.

IT ought to be remembered, to the immortal honor of this wise and beneficent body, that the colonists amounted not to two thousand souls, when this great national blessing was bestowed on them : So that, whilst all the great nations of Europe were sunk in slavery, and England herself was en-

* The payment of taxes was almost the sole qualification.

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gaged in an incessant struggle with her monarch, in defence of a few undefined and scanty privileges, Virginia, separated as it were, from the whole world, heard the voice of liberty, like sweet music, vibrate in her wilds.

AND how gratefully, how endearingly this noble gift was remembered by the colony, let the conduct of their assembly in 1622 speak ; when, in defiance of personal considerations, with a spirit, a judgment and intelligence, no wise inferior, they entered the lists with their benefactors, against majesty itself.

OWING to the temper of the times, and the jealous vigilance of the court, the company were not equally liberal on points of religious faith. A strict conformity to the doctrines and forms of the church, was an indispensable qualification in the ministers, and orthodoxy was enjoined under strict and severe penalties, to every member, of the colony. But there were no courts specially established, as in England, to enquire into those offences and enforce those penalties ; no establishments, analogous to the star chamber, or high commission, to fright the citizens with the forms and the powers of an inquisition. The penalties incurred for the breach and non-observance of religious duties, were never rigidly enforced ; and they were assessed by the governor and council, who possessed also the power of remitting them.

INDEED, during the government of the company, not a single instance is recorded of a persecution for mere difference of opinion ; and the penalties alluded to, ought perhaps, to be ascribed solely to the wish of preserving decent manners, and a moral disposition in the people.

THE state of learning in England, has been already described, and its probable influence on the colony : But if we except the debates and

State of learning in colony.

public papers of the assembly, there is little during the first eighteen years, and indeed very long after, to attract our admiration in this particular. Mr. Stith mentions with praise, a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, by Mr. George Sandys, the company's treasurer of Virginia. I have not seen this work, and am therefore unable to speak of its merits. The substance of his dedication is given, as well on account of its allusion to the affairs of Virginia after the dissolution of the company, as because it will serve as a specimen of its style and execution.

He tells the king, "That it was limned by that imperfect light, which was snatched from the hours of night and repose. For the day was not his own, but dedicated to the service of his father and himself; and had that service proved fortunate, as it was faithful, in him, as well as others more worthy, they had hoped before the revolution of many years, to have presented his majesty with a rich and well peopled kingdom. But as things had turned, he had only been able to bring from thence himself, and that composition, which needed more than a single denization. For it was doubly a stranger, being sprung from an ancient Roman stock, and bred up in the new world, of the rudeness whereof it could not but participate; especially as it was produced among wars and tumults; instead of under the kindly influences of the muses."

THE attention of the company was directed with equal care to almost every subject of political economy; and as the country as yet held out no prospects of sudden wealth in the working of mines, agriculture was naturally resorted to as the means of trade and subsistence. Tobacco had in some degree grown into notice by the whim of

APPENDIX. the colonists, and the fashion of the times, unaided by the patronage, and indeed, in defiance of the repeated injunctions of the company. But a
Agriculture strange taste for this nauseous plant, was rapidly gaining ground in Europe ; and the king, notwithstanding his unaffected antipathy to it, tempted by the prospect of revenue, at length permitted it to be entered in 1614, as a regular article of trade. The colonists had learned the art of planting corn, together with the use of this valuable production, from the Indians. Vineyards were attempted ; and experienced vine-dressers sent over for this purpose. The culture of silk worms was recommended with a like anxiety ; whilst anniseed, flax, hemp, wheat, and barley, with various other productions, formed a large and judicious list for future essay and experiment. Colonies will, for a considerable time at least, reflect the manners and pursuits of the parent state.... During the last years of the reign of James, a considerable taste for agricultural enquiry prevailed ; and numerous *treatises were published on the subject. The company sent †over several of those tracts, for the use of the colony. It is not surprising then, that at this time, a rage for speculative farming prevailed in the colony.

Commerce THE commerce of Virginia, from the nature of things, was for a long time of little value. Before the year 1614, she had no staple. But once, that she was legalized as a fair trader, and the industry of her citizens was excited by the prospect of wealth and the security of freedom, her

* *Hume*, vol. IV. p. 335.

† Records of Virginia, MS. penes me.

advances were unparalleled and almost miraculous. In the year 1620, her tobacco was more than sufficient for the English market, and the *continent was resorted to, as a vent for the superfluity. APPENDIX.

I FIND in the proclamations of the Virginia governors and councils, the rates of some commodities, and something like a scale of exchange between specie and tobacco. During the administration of captain Argall, tobacco was fixed at three shillings the pound. In 1623, Canary, Malaga, Alicant, Tent, Muskadel, and Bastard wines, were rated at six shillings in specie, and nine shillings the gallon, payable in tobacco.... Sherry, sack, and Aquavitæ, at four shillings, or four shillings and six-pence tobacco.... Wine vinegar at three shillings, or four shillings and six-pence tobacco.... Cider and beer vinegar at two shillings, or three shillings in tobacco.... Loaf sugar one shilling and eight-pence per pound, or two shillings and six-pence in tobacco.... butter and cheese eight-pence per pound, or one shilling in tobacco.... Newfoundland fish per cwt. fifteen shillings, or one pound four shillings in tobacco.... Canada fish, two pounds, or three pounds ten shillings in tobacco. English meal sold at ten shillings the bushel, and Indian corn at eight. After a careful inspection of the old records, I cannot find any rates of labor specified, although they too are mentioned, as forming a part of the subject of proclamations.

It has been hinted above, that the islands of Bermudas were settled by the company, and subjected to a proprietary government analogous to that of Virginia. One hundred and twenty mem-

* *Stith....Robertson....MS.* penes me.

APPENDIX. bers of the London company became the proprietors of those islands, and sat apart, as a distinct corporation : But the interests of both settlements were conceived so intimately interwoven, that in their opposition to the encroachments of the king, they made a common cause with their Virginia sister, and displayed equal spirit and intelligence. By accident or imitation, tobacco had become also the staple of Bermuda; and we find, that in 1621, this colony had progressed with such rapidity, that their company contracted to bring 55,000 weight of tobacco of their own produce, into England, during that year.

A CIRCUMSTANCE is related of this island, which will not be thought uninteresting to the lovers of natural history : Three men, left behind by sir George Somers, discovered among the rocks, a block of ambergrease, weighing fourscore pounds, which in those days was supposed to be worth nine or ten thousand pounds. This, if I mistake not, is the largest mass of this substance, which had ever been found in one parcel. Several smaller pieces were found at the same time.

An iron foundry and glass-house, both destroyed during the massacre, composed the whole of their manufactures.

INDIANS. NOTWITHSTANDING the general charge of barbarism and treachery against the Indians of Virginia, and of cruelty and tyranny against Powhatan, with which the early historians abound, not a single fact is brought in support of this accusation ; and in several instances, with an inconsistency for which it is difficult to account, the same writers speak with admiration of the exact order, which prevailed among all the tribes of which this empire was composed ; and confess at the same

time, that this *order and security arose from the inviolable observance of †customs, which time had consecrated as law, and which were equally binding on the king and the people. APPENDIX.

STITH and Smith relate, that Powhatan made his own ‡hatchets, and the other instruments of tillage and war ; and the same writers assert, that Opechancanough and Opitchapan had no power to rid themselves of those Indians, who had incurred their dislike, but by privately soliciting the English to do them this service. Another striking example is given by those writers, of the absolute independence of the Indians, in their contempt of what is called the order of succession by their neglect of Opitchapan, and their preference of the superior virtues of Opechancanough.

It appears farther, that the werowances or war chiefs considered themselves no farther bound by the directions of the emperor, than as they were in themselves reasonable ; and that on several occasions, they pointedly, as in the affair of the massacre, refused obedience to those directions.

It is a real misfortune, that so little attention should have been paid by the first Virginia colonists to the character, laws, and language of this

* And though both himself and people were very barbarous, and void of all letters and civility, yet was there such good government among them, that the magistrates for good command, and the people for due obedience, excelled many places, that would be counted very civil.

Stith, p. 54.

† He had under him, thirty werowances or inferior kings, who had power of life and death, but were bound to govern according to the customs of the country.

Ibidem.

Stith, p. 95....Smith, p. 81.

APPENDIX. singular people. It may be urged, that this neglect is incidental to the nature of colonists ; that in general, they are unfitted by their pursuits and education, for speculative research ; that the labors of reclaiming the wilderness, and of fighting the savage, furnish sufficient employment, without those unprofitable, or at best, fanciful attainments.

It is indeed true, that as colonies are generally conducted, no inducements are held out for such an enquiry. But the Spanish and French colonists, although similarly circumstanced, have made considerable progress in this subject ; and to their accounts, such as they are, we stand indebted for all that we know respecting the history of the American Indian.

SMITH's passion for war and adventure, and his active employments, left him no leisure to attend to objects of such remote or doubtful advantage : But there is reason to believe, from the little he relates of his observations during his captivity, that had he been spared sufficiently long to the colony, he would have given us an exact account of the language and policy of the Virginia Indian.

SMITH, from whom better was to be expected, says not a word on the subject : And what is equally strange, Beverley, who, on all other subjects, is a mere annalist, appears on this occasion to feel a portion of zeal, and to display some of the talents essential to such an investigation. But his zeal is but the hectic of a moment, and he soon relapses into his former apathy.

THE consequence of this early neglect, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to repair : And for the manners and character of the most extraordinary race of men, which has appeared upon the earth ; a people too, with whom we have been ac-

quainted for two centuries, we are constrained to resort to conjectures and analogies, deduced from the writings of the French and Spanish historians. APPENDIX.

IN what contradictions are we involved, when obliged to speak of the laws and form of government; of the population, and effective military force of the Powhatan confederacy.

MR. Jefferson reckons the population at eight thousand, and the force capable of bearing arms, at two thousand five hundred. But the historians of Virginia, although they do not pretend to transmit any estimate on those heads, without intending it, relate several particulars, which prove the calculation of Mr. Jefferson inadmissible. They tell us, that Powhatan had thirty werowances, or heads of tribes, *subject to him; that Opechancanough appeared at one time with †three hundred bowmen, and at another time with ‡seven hundred, in all probability of his own tribe of Pamunkey; that the small tribe of Chickahominies had between ||three and four hundred fighting men; that between three and four thousand Indians lay in wait to surprize the English at ¶Nomini; that the Susquahaanocks (who it is true, were not Powhatans) could muster about **six hundred fighting men; that the Nansamonds and Chesapeake, appeared to the number of four hundred men, which was probably only a part of their ††strength.

* *Stith*, p. 54.

† *Ibidem*, p. 50.

‡ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

|| *Ibidem*, p. 140.

¶ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

** *Ibidem*, p. 65.

†† *Ibidem*, p. 64.

APPENDIX.

It is stated too, that the tribes composing the empire of Powhatan, were in peace and friendship with each other ; and that, although a rivalry and antipathy subsisted between them and the Manakins and Manahoacks, no regular hostility was exercised between them. Their position at the heads of the great rivers, and in the fastnesses of their mountains, secured the Manakins from subjugation : While the compact vigor of Powhatan's empire, added to the terror of his arms, kept invasion at a distance from his dominions.

In addition to a profound peace and mild government, the subjects of Powhatan inhabited a region, on which nature had bestowed singular advantages. Their settlements were generally on the banks of James, Elizabeth, Nansamond, York, and Chickahomini rivers, all of which abounded in the most delicious fish and wild fowl. Their woods contained innumerable herds of deer.... A rich soil gratified the most sanguine expectations of the planter : So that little is hazarded by declaring, that no equal portion of the globe contains within itself more ample sources of food, or even, of luxury.

BUT as I purpose entering at large into the history of this extraordinary people, in the second volume of this work ; for the present, I shall dismiss this subject, with a few observations on what is most obvious, and what belongs peculiarly to the history of this volume.

AT the coming of the English, the Indians naturally enjoyed the best and most convenient stations for fishing, and the most fertile lands : But in proportion as new settlers came in, they rapidly lost those advantages. In some cases the colonists claimed by the right of conquest, and the imaginary title conferred by the king's charter. In general however, they acted on better princi-

pies, and purchased from the heads of tribes, the right of soil, in a fair and (as far as was practicable) in a legal manner. In the treaty entered into between sir G. Yeardley and Opechancanough, we find a sweeping clause, granting to the English permission to reside and inhabit at such places on the banks of certain rivers, which were not already occupied by the natives. 'Tis true, the circumstances of the parties admitted not a fair and legal purchase; and after the massacre, the Indians were stripped of their inheritance without the shadow of justice.

As the wave of immigration advanced, the tribes receded farther within their forests: But their strength at the period, which closes this volume, was yet too formidable to justify a final abandonment of those scenes, where their childhood had been nursed, and they had sported in the frolic of early youth. They yet lingered at the back of the English settlements, waiting under their leaders with the patience, the seeming indifference, and the determination, which form their character, for the moment of restoration and revenge. The soul of Opechancanough directed their movements, and the colonists were held in perpetual apprehension, by the sleepless vengeance of a people, who, like tygers, bound on their prey, who fly before the pursuers, and who murder and tear to pieces their victims with indiscriminating ferocity.

A COINCIDENCE of circumstances, as rare, as it was fortunate, contributed to afford the administration of government in the colony, a purity of which human establishments have not often been thought susceptible. Of their representative, this is certainly true. Every tithea-

General reflections.

APPENDIX. ble or *taxable inhabitant, was an essential part of the sovereignty, and voted for members of assembly. In 1621, the population did not exceed three thousand souls ; and yet, eleven boroughs or plantations sent twenty two members to their general assembly. In 1624, the population was considerably under this calculation, owing to the massacre ; and yet, the names of twenty four or twenty five burgesses are signed to that body's reply to Butler's information : And what honor does not the choice of such an assembly as that of 1624, reflect on the colonists ? What sagacity and public spirit does it not suppose in them, at a juncture so delicate and trying, to have selected a body, which almost immediately, and as it were, instinctively, saw their true interest, and pursued it with ardor and unanimity, in the face of the royal commissioners, and in defiance of the authority and resentment of the king.

THE uninterrupted harmony, which prevailed between the representatives and the governor and council since the establishment of the constitution, is another singular fact, which ought not to be omitted : that this unanimity proceeded less from notions of state and policy, than from genuine attachment and patriotism, is proved by the generous warmth with which sir T. Wyatt stepped forward to second the measures of the assembly, in 1624. Had not ardent attachment, as well as a refined sentiment of honor and sense of duty, taken deep hold of the minds of the different departments of government at this crisis, their interest, (to speak the language of the world) would have recommended a different conduct ; and they had certainly recei-

* Virginia records, MS. penes me.

and the amplest price for their treason. It would be unjust perhaps to deny to the democratical frame of their government, some share of the merit of this intelligence, order, and public spirit. Time and experience have fully proved, in spite of the ravings of mercenary sophists, that this government so unjustly aspersed, is the only true source of national greatness, freedom, and prosperity ; that it refines and sublimates the human mind, disposing it at once, to a relish for what is elegant, and a passion for what is sublime and exalted. On the whole, whether we consider the time at which the Virginia settlement was formed ; or the numbers and reputation of its proprietors ; or the vast extent of the country granted by charter, and the numerous savage tribes, which inhabited those regions ; or the free government enjoyed by the colonists, and their rapid advances to power and civilization....it may safely be affirmed, that few states can boast an origin more honorable, or interesting ; or, which promised at some future day, to disclose consequences more important and eventful to the world. How far these expectations have been realized, shall be seen in the sequel.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. [On consideration, I have thought it the better course, either wholly to omit, or to reserve for the general appendix in fourth volume, those papers to which references have been made in this work ; " The company's chief root of the differences and discontents," excepted. This paper will afford to such as are inquisitive on this head, the best and most succinct account of the causes, which led to a dissolution of the company. A list of the planters as they stood in 1624, and of the London company, will perhaps gratify the curiosity of several readers.]

MAY 7th, 1623.

A DECLARATION made by the council for Virginia, and principal assistants for the Somer Islands, of their judgments, touching one original great cause of the dissentions in the companies.

HIS majesty's council for Virginia, being assembled according to the order of court of the twenty third of April, and taking into consideration the present differences and distractions in the company, and according to their duty entering into a serious consultation, how to extinguish or compose the same, that the work of the plantation may as heretofore proceed and prosper: They have found in their understandings, that one chief root of all these divisions, and of sundry other machinations, to the great detriment of the plantations, and bending withal to a course for dissolution of the companies, have proceeded from some instruments about the right honorable the earl of Warwick, who, by misinformations and false pretences, as they conceive, abusing the facility and forwardness of his disposition for atchieving of their own exorbitant purpose, have enforced them after long patience, now to discover the same, while remedy is to be had, lest in time the disease grow remediless.

It is therefore first of all to be laid as a true ground, that these instruments about his lordship, not content with that lawful and orderly benefit, which the adventurers for the said plantations might, in a due course and fit time expect; but affecting a sudden and extraordinary wealth, by spoiling of the public state of the colonies, and oppressing also of the multitude of particular planters in them; and being not able to run on in a swift and uninterrupted current, without gaining also the government of the companies here at home into their own or assured friends hands and possession, thereby also to be enabled to place governors from time to time in the colonies abroad, men of their own creation, and assured to their devotion, have left no means nor practice unattempted during the space of divers years past, for the bringing to effect both of the one or the other.

FIRST therefore, in the beginning of the year 1617, a course was taken, that captain Argall, now sir Samuel Argall, an assured follower and favorite of his lordship, should be sent with the power both of governor and admiral to Virginia, armed also with the strength and exercise of martial law, even in time of peace, that no man there might dare even to open his mouth in any complaint against him, whereof he set up a memorable warning by example, in the case of captain Brewster; whom, for opposing against his course of destroying that great plantation, begun by the late lord de la War, and of drawing the whole benefit thereof to his own private advantage, he procured to be condemned by a marshal's court, most unjustly to death, and delivered him not from the same, but upon taking an unjust oath prescribed to him to this effect: That he should not speak ill of captain Argall's government, nor ever again return in the territories of Virginia:

APPENDIX. and to protect captain Argall from being called to an after account for his government, under shew of a new plantation to be set up in Virginia by captain Argall and his partners, whereof the said earl hath since appeared to be one, (which yet to this day hath had no beginning) there was procured a patent to the said captain and his associates, for the said new plantation; whereby he and his company, their heirs and assigns (save only in time of defence by war) were exempted from all power, authority, and jurisdiction, to be from hence derived, or there established, that so he might reign there as great and absolute master, without law or controulment, and without the fear of ever being called to any future reckoning.

Thus furnished with exorbitant power and exemption, how he carried himself there in his two years' government, hath been elsewhere at large declared: The sum is....that besides a multitude of particular wrongs and oppressions, whatsoever was remaining at that time in the colony belonging to the public, and being the fruit of fourscore thousand pounds charge, he converted it in a manner wholly to his own private use and possession, the very public lands cultivated, the company's tenants and servants, their rents, corn, and tributes of corn, their kine and other cattle, their stores and other provisions; whereby the company being disabled in all appearance of ever setting up the same again, or to bear the great burden of public charge, both at home and abroad, being thus stripped of all revenue, the said company must have failed and decayed, and the whole colony have fallen in time into the hands of the said captain and his association, to be there established, which seemeth to have been his prime and original desire. Neither could this depreciation of that colony, content, but a ship called the Treasurer,

set forth by the said earl and sent to Virginia, and an old commission of hostility from the duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, procured by some means, and put into the hands of the said captain, the said Treasurer being manned with the ablest men in the colony, and new victualled from hence, was set out on roving voyage to the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, where after several acts of hostility committed, and some purchase gotten, she returns to Virginia at the end of ten months or thereabouts; but finding captain Argall, the setter of her out, departed from thence, she withdrew herself instantly from the new governor's power, and went to the Somer Islands, then discharging her booty, which were a certain number of negroes, all which, even those that belonged as shares unto the mariners (whereof they have not long since complained in court) were taken and placed on the said earl's lands, as belonging to his lordship, and so continue.

THIS course of captain Argall's sending home a strange murmur of complaints against him in the summer 1618, sir Thomas Smith being then treasurer, and alderman Johnson, deputy, the company were so inflamed with these outrages, that they could hardly be contained from running to his majesty, being in progress, to crave his supreme hand for redress of so great a mischief. But sir Thomas Smith at that time, whether in favor of the said captain Argall, his friend and kinsman, or out of his better judgment, alledging that the imploring of his majesty's aid, might be a derogation to the company's power and liberties, made stay of that course, and directed the company into another and milder way, which after the misprospering of it, some other provisions for reformation by the unfortunate decease of the lord de la War, chief governor, issu-

APPENDIX. ed finally in a resolution of sending a new governor to examine those clamours and complaints against captain Argall, whereupon at the Michaelmas ensuing, captain Yeardley, afterwards sir George Yeardley, was first nominated governor, and afterwards solemnly chosen at the next quarter court.

BEFORE which time, in the said summer 1618, upon the complaints aforesaid, sir Thomas Smith and alderman Johnson, with divers others of the council, addressed their letters to the said lord de la War, lately gone for Virginia, requiring him to send home the said captain Argall, a malefactor, and to sequester all his goods there for restitution to the company: There was afterwards an order resolved on in court, that what goods of captain Argall's should be returned for England, should be likewise seized on for the company's use; which order at the said earl's request, was so far forth dispensed with, as that his lordship might notwithstanding take out his own part (intending so much as should belong to him by his right of partnership) upon promise to deliver the rest into the company's hands, so far forth, as should be in his power to perform it; the performance of which promises is yet still expected. The said captain having returned all his goods from Virginia under other mens' names, and consigned them unto other and greater mens' hands, whereby the company remaineth still defrauded of the true restitution, which they had so great cause to expect from captain Argall.

BUT to come to some other parts of captain Argall's government. This course of depredation and roving not sufficing, as likely to receive, encounter, and check from hence; new engines were used, some to dishearten and some to disgrace the company, that so as it seemeth they

might in time abound on the plantation, and leave it as a prey to the said captain, his friends and followers. APPENDIX.

FIRST therefore, in the plantation, letters were sent by captain Argall, and directed to the company, which so dispraised the country, as to make it appear less fertile than the most barren arable land to be found ordinarily in this realm; an assured way of discontent to all adventurers and planters, from farther proceeding. But this engine was broken by a commission sent unto Virginia, from whence was returned by examination upon oath, that the soil was most fertile, and that slander of it most untrue. Then next on the other side, to correspond from hence, the company, and their actions, and particularly the governor's, alderman Johnson by name, were disgraced by letters sent to Virginia, not unknown, (as is strongly to be presumed) to the said earl. In which it was suggested, that the merchants (as they termed them) who then swayed the courts, affected nothing but their own immoderate gain, though with the poor planters extreme oppression, as appeared by their magazine: By which insinuations, that the said earl would go and complain to the king in their behalf, they were drawn on by instruments used fitly for that purpose, to exclaim with great bitterness against the company, and in a manner to cast off their government, adopting unto themselves other patrons against them, according to their said plantations, the principal whereof were partners to the said captain Argall, amongst which the said earl of Warwick was in degree far the chief. All this, notwithstanding the company proceeded on in their course against captain Argall, and by advice of the council, and a choice committee, prepared divers commissions to be

APPENDIX. sent with sir George Yeardley for the proceeding against the captain in Virginia; against which the said earl, with other of his friends and followers, having made great opposition, but not prevailing, a course was taken in fine to dispatch a pinnace from Plymouth, to fetch away captain Argall and his goods and booty, before the arrival of the said sir George Yeardley and his commissions.

THE said sir George Yeardley, by the persuasion (as is vehemently to be presumed) of Mr. Pory, whom the said earl had lately recommended unto sir Thomas Smith, then treasurer, for the secretary's place in Virginia, spent much time unnecessarily upon our English coast. But the said earl, still ill satisfied with the proceedings against captain Argall, in the Easter term ensuing, 1619, pursued with eagerness the displacing of sir Thomas Smith and alderman Johnson from the government of the company, which succeeded accordingly.

BUT to stop the course of the said commissions in Virginia, for examination of the actions and government of captain Argall, whose person had escaped from thence, new ways had been and still were devised; first, Mr. Pory, sworn secretary of state there, and who wrote the examinations taken by virtue of the said commissions, sent copies of those examinations underhand to the said earl; which being discovered, and he stopped in that course, a new way was taken, so to daunt sir George Yeardley, as might clean discourage him from proceeding in the said commissions; for the said earl having published great displeasure against the said sir George Yeardley, for intercepting the packet wherein the copies of the said examinations were sent him, and threatening a sharp revenge, it was soon after rumored by

some of the said earl's followers, and spread over Virginia, even to Opechancanough himself, that the earl would shortly come over himself in person to be their governor, and that captain Argall would be his pilot, and then he would call sir G. Yeardley into like question and examination for his own government; which rumor, confirmed also by letters from hence, is thought to have been a principle cause of that discouragement and dejection in sir George Yeardley, which ending in a long sickness, caused a general neglect in following the public business, which otherwise might have proceeded to the effect here intended. Now at the arrival here of captain Argall, in the former part of the year 1619, when sir Edward Sandys was treasurer, the council, after some time, proceeded to the examination of the said captain Argall's having withdrawn himself from due trial in the parts where the facts were committed, and where the true profession on both sides were to be readily had.

THERE how he was patronized by the said earl and by sir Nathaniel Rich, to the hindrance of the cause of justice and of due restitution, how the treasurer was wronged in performing his office and oath, and sought to be deterred even by threats of blood, from acquainting the lords of his majesty's most honorable privy council with the colony's complaint of that roving ship the Treasurer, shall be here passed over, and referred to another place.

BUT by these means, the matter was drawn to so extreme length, and the council and company so extremely wearied, that in fine, captain Argall going the voyage to Algiers, all further prosecution hath been since suspended, and the company defrauded of the great restitution, which, after so great wrong, they had great reason to expect.

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FROM which time, the said earl and Sir Nathaniel Rich, with others his lordship's followers, have generally absented themselves from the courts of the company, and other meetings in council; and the said earl and sir Nathaniel Rich, together with sir Thomas Smith, have also sold away their adventure in the particular plantation whereof they were; in the mean time, the company continued in a constant tenor of great peace and tranquility, pursuing the business of the plantation with great zeal and industry, and that without interruption by any shadow of faction, till this last great rent, whereof shall be spoken in a more proper place.

FOR now to take a view also of the like proceedings for the Somer Islands. The company thereof being unwilling from the beginning, that the said earl, or any other great person, should grow too great in the said islands (having great cause to fear the same) had obtained, that in his majesty's letters patents, no adventurer might be owner of above fifteen shares in the said islands, amounting to about the twentieth part of the land there; and that no matter of importance, touching the state of the said islands, should be ordered, but in one of their great quarter courts, to be held in the four terms when in likelihood the greatest and principal number of adventurers would be present: These causes of restraint being no way pleasing, as it seemeth, to his lordship, as being opposite to the main ends projected by his followers, a course was taken during the time of sir Thomas Smith's government, to find faults with the letters patent, upon pretence of other defects, and an order of court gotten for drawing up a new patent, to be procured from his majesty, upon surrender of the former; and the care of drawing it, was commended to one Mr. Phasent, a counsellor

at law, belonging to his lordship, and upon whom he had bestowed either really or titularly, one of his shares in the Somer Islands. APPENDIX.

THIS new patent being drawn, and a time appointed for reading it to the company, upon notice of some suspicion, that there was no good meaning in it, there happened to be some present, who seemed were not looked for, as having for a long time foreborne those courts, the conclusion was, that in this new intended patent, the institution of quarter courts and limitation of numbers of shares, were clean omitted; which being discovered, the new draught was rejected, and the company well armed againd the like attempt in future times.

THERE remained, as it seemeth, for supply to their desires, that his lordship should yet be so strengthened in the courts at home, and so powerful by his agents in those islands abroad, that all things might be disposed of by their absolute pleasure at the courts at home, besides other his followers, which did the like: His lordship was also induced to put off divers of his fifteen shares to sundry new persons, among which was captain Argall, and a brother of captain Butler, by which means, in that small court, they have engrengthened their power.

AND as for the colony itself, he procured his follower and favorite, captain Butler, to be chosen governor, during these last three years, who strengthening himself by the association of a turbulent and ill-affected person, one Mr. Lewis Hughes, a minister who had preached in the Somer Islands, that the government of the church of England by bishops was anti-christian, and that the book of common prayer was but an old wife's tale, fit to be read at the fire side, (as was justified to his face.) What course they took to alienate

APPENDIX. the inhabitants hearts from the company and from the government thereof, established here by his majesty, and what oppressions were exercised over particular persons, appeareth, as in part by other good proofs, so partly by the multitude of particular complaints, against the said captain Butler, whereof there shall be consideration had elsewhere in its due place, one only example shall be here produced.

IN the latter time that captain Kendall was deputy governor, there arrived at the Somer Islands (viz.) in the year 1619, a man of war with a commission from the prince of Orange, by virtue whereof he had taken certain negroes in the West Indies; and being in great extremity for want of water and victuals, and forbid by captain Kendall to come into any of the said harbors, he gave him notice he had fourteen negroes on board, which he should be forced to cast overboard for want of victuals, and rather desired to bestow them on captain Kendall, for any small consideration which he should be pleased to bestow on them, which was performed accordingly. Captain Kendall, who had spent a long time in the Somer Islands, being one of the first inhabitants, and who by his valor and other good qualities had, in time of vacancy, been twice chosen governor, now upon the arrival of captain Butler, was forcibly deprived by him of all his said negroes, upon pretence, that they belonged unto the earl of Warwick's ship called the Treasurer; with which the said Holland man-of-war had consorted. This outrage of captain Butler upon the goods of his predecessor, so contrary to all law and form of justice, and without any order for aught that ever appeared, enforced captain Kendall to return to England, and to exhibit his complaint against captain Butler to the company, where it pleased the

said earl to make claim in open court, that the said negroes were his, as belonging unto his ship the Treasurer as aforesaid; and to cross captain Kendall in his just demand, certain articles of complaint were exhibited against him, which being referred unto examination in the Somer Islands, where he that did him wrong was also to be his judge, was the cause that for a long while he got no restitution. About mid-summer, 1622, the court taking consideration of the wrong done to captain Kendall, and the earl of Warwick referring his claim to the judgment of the court, it was ordered that nine of the said negroes should be delivered to captain Kendall, and the rest to be consigned to the company's use; which the new governor, captain Bernard, lately deceased, was requested by his instructions to see put in execution: After whose decease, by a letter, there produced from the said earl, importing that the said negroes should not be delivered to the said Kendall; and upon advantage taken of mistaking the Hollander's name, the said restitution is still deferred, and the poor gentleman still languishing under the effects of most unjust oppression;....so weak are the company's orders in that plantation, if they come once to be countermanded by any mandate from his lordship.

BUT to come to the conclusion of captain Butler's government, who perceiving by the multitude of complaints against him, that he had incurred some displeasure with the company, and as it seemed that upon just fear, that a commission would be awarded to the new governor and others, for the examining of his proceedings about the late Spanish wreck, there so much complained of, and for other misdemeanors wherewith he stood heavily charged, whether in revenge thereof, or in pursuit of the aforesaid ends, he entered into a

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. combination with Mr. Lewis Hughs, and some other fit instruments for such a purpose, to make a collection of certain grievances to be exhibited to the inhabitants against the company, and withal for a petition to the lords of the company first, and afterwards to the king, for altering the government of the company here as being anti-monarchical, and for the reducing it into the hands of a few principal persons. This done, and being laden it seems, with wealth and malice, contrary to a solemn order by himself enacted, and to the desire of the inhabitants, by the help of a small ship, to fetch him away from the Somer Islands (as the like had been done upon the like occasion for captain Argall, from Virginia) he was conveyed thence, little before the new governor's arrival, and so delivered from the trial intended by the said commission, leaving those islands with the inhabitants in most miserable plight.

BUT captain Butler (as seemeth,) not satiated with his wrong to that plantation, and to the company here for the same, goeth from thence to Virginia, to be revenged also on the other company's plantation, consisting in great part of the selfsame persons.

To Virginia he came in an ill season of the year, towards the extremity of winter, and in a worse time otherwise, after the late massacre ;.... where being refused to sit in council with them, whereto he could shew no right, though entertained otherwise with great courtesey, he fed his eyes with the miserable spectacle of a country overrun with a late treacherous war, which in a heart of any sense of mortal calamity, would have wrought, though not a christian, yet a humane compassion.

BUT he soon after returned into England, and finding the companies full of trouble by some far

tious spirits, and that enquiry was already made, APPENDIX.
 and some reasonable discovery of his unthankful
 practice and conspiracy in the said Somer Islands,
 to deprive them of that government, by whom
 and by which himself was made governor, means
 were found by some of the aforesaid instruments,
 that he should be brought unto the king, and com-
 manded as is said to make unto his majesty a true
 relation of the state of Virginia, which relation
 termed by himself an unmasking of Virginia, and
 consisting of an extreme disgracing of that coun-
 try and plantation, together with the most bitter
 aspersion upon the government thereof, both there
 and here. How far it is in all the material points
 from truth, hath so fully appeared by undeniable
 proof, as that impudence itself cannot open mouth
 to excuse it.

IN fine, these disguised actions being now un-
 masked, they plainly profess, sir Nathaniel Rich
 in the court, his brother-in-law sir T. Wroshat,
 the council board, alderman Johnson, in his pe-
 tition to his majesty, captain Butler, in his dis-
 masking, and others by other means, some of
 them in one part and some in another, that they
 desire an alteration of the government in both
 companies, whereby as may be very strongly pre-
 sumed (comparing their former proceeding with
 the present) to draw the plantations into their for-
 mer estate of being subject to their ambition and
 inexplicable avarice.

IN the mean time, their practices and labours
 are infinite in disgracing with all kinds of calum-
 nies and slanders, the present government of the
 companies, with their actions and persons.

THE said earl also apparently to draw (it seem-
 eth) unto himself some shew of a party, counte-
 nancing and gracing all sorts of opposites to the

APPENDIX. companies upon what cause soever, and though heretofore sundry of them no less opposite to his lordship, and under pretence of justifying those their manifold untruths, they have sued for a commission to examine those imputations wherewith they have been pleased to charge the government in these four last years ; which commission, by his majesty's grace and the lords noble justice, ordained to extend also to the twelve years of the former government, and the companies earnestly pressing them to take out their commission, they have delayed, and do still delay the same, knowing (as it seemeth) in their own guilty consciences, that they are in neither degree able to charge the latter, nor yet to excuse the former.

THIS remonstrance of their strange and long continued proceedings of the instruments aforesaid, the said council and principal assistants have thought fit to gather into one body, and so to offer it to the view and judgment of the general courts, being a matter of the highest importance that ever came into their considerations, as concerning not a few branches, but the very bodies, life, and subsistence of both the companies and plantations.

THE CORPORATION OF HENRICO.

APPENDIX.

[On the northerly side of James river, from the falls down to Henrico, containing ten miles in length, are the public lands reserved and laid out, whereof ten thousand acres for the university lands, three thousand acres for the company's lands, with other lands belonging to the college, the common lands for that corporation, fifteen hundred acres.

On the south side, beginning from the falls, there are these patents granted, viz.]

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres planted.</i>	<i>Acres patent.</i>
John Patterson	100		
Anthony Edwards	100		
Nathaniel Norton	100		
John Proctor	200		
Thomas Tracy			100
John Villiard			100
Francis Weston			300
Thetlip Lace Close	100		
John Price	150		
Peter Neinmart			110
William Perry	100		
John Plower	100		
Surrendered for the use of the iron works.			
Edward Studson	100		
Thomas Morgan	150		
Thomas Sheffield	150		
In Coxendale, within the same corporation of Henrico.			
Lieut. Edward Barkley	112		
Richard Poulton	100		
Robert Aukland	200		
John Griffin	50		
Peter Neinmart	40		

APPENDIX.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>
		<i>planted.</i>	<i>patent.</i>
Thomas Tindal	100		
Thomas Read	100		
John Layden	200		
The corporation of Charles- City.			
George Grimes	30		
William Vincent	100		
Richard Taylor	100		
Robert Partin	50		
Thomas Douse	400		
George Cawest	100		
Isaac Chaplain	50		
Thomas Rose	100		
John Owley	50		
Joseph Charde	100		
John Dodds	50		
William Sharp	40		
James Usther	100		
William Cradouke	100		
John Owley	150		
Theophilus Barrristone	100		
John Harris		200	
Robert Partin		100	
Nathaniel Cawsey	200		
John Carter	40		
Captain Maddison		250	
Richard Bigs		150	
Francis Mason	50		
Henry Bagwell	50		
Samuel Jarrett	100		
John Dade	100		
Thomas Swinhow	300		
Thomas Hobson	150		
Simon Fortescue	100		
Thomas Gagne	100		
William Bayly	100		

Acres. Acres Acres APPENDIX.
planted. patent.

John Witters	-	100	
Lieut. Richard Cragg,		250	
John Car	-	100	
Richard Taylor	-	100	
Robert	-	250	
Laid out for the company below Shirley Hundred Island 3000, at Westover 300 acres claimed by captain Francis West, upon Apomatuck river.			
William Farrar	-	100	
Henry Millward,	-	250	
Charles Magnor	-	650	
Samuel Sharp	-	100	
Humphrey Kent	-	50	
Mr. Abraham Perfeyet		1150	
Richard Simons	-	100	
Arthur Anthony	-	150	
William Sismore	-	100	
William Douglas	-	250	
Here is land laid out for Charles City and the common land.			
The territory of Great Weyonake.			
Christopher Harding		100	
William Bayly	-	50	
Richard Prate	-	150	
William Jarret	-	200	
Captain J. Woodlife		550	
Samuel Jordan	-		450
Temperance Bayly,	-		200
Isaac Chaplin	-		200
Captain Nathaniel Powel		600	
Mr. Sam'l Macock's dividend,			
Perfy's Hundred,	=		1000

APPENDIX.

*Acres. Acres Acres
planted. patent.*

Tank's Wayonake, over a-
gainst Perfy's Hundred 2000
Capt. Spillman's dividend.

Martin Brandon, belonging to
captain John Martin, by patent
out of England, upon the east-
erly side of Chapoke creek, is
appointed 500 acres, belonging
to the place of treasurer, by or-
der of court.

John Martin	-	100
George Harrison	-	200
Samuel Cash,	-	500

On the northerly side is the land
belonging to Southampton Hun-
dred, containing 100,000 acres,
extending from Tank's Weya-
noke, down to the mouth of
Chickahomoni river.

The corporation of James City,
adjoining to the mouth of
Chickahomoni river, there are
3000 acres of land laid out for
the company, 3000 laid out for
the place of the governor, plant-
ed, in which are some small par-
cels granted by sir T. Dale and
sir S. Argall, planted.

Mr. Richard Buck,	-	750
The glebe land,	-	100

In the island of James Town are
many parcels of land granted by
patent and order of court.

Territory of Tappahanuck over
against James City.

John Dodds	-	150
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	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>	APPENDIX.
	<i>planted.</i>	<i>patent.</i>		
John Burrows, - - -	-	150		
Richard Pace - - -	-	200		
Francis Chapman - -	100			
Thomas Gates - - -	100			
Mr. John Rolfe - - -	-	400		
Captain William Powell -	-	200		
Capt. S. Mathews dividend plan- ted.				
Capt. John Harlestone's dividend planted.				
John Baynham, - - -	-	200		
Mr. George Sandys, - -	-	300		
William Ewins, - - -	-	1000		
Edward Grinden, - - -	-	150		
Captain William Powell -	-	550		
Ensign Joseph Note, - -	100			
Robert Evers - - -	100			
Hog-Island.				
Mary Bayly - - -	-	100		
Southampton Hundred.				
Captain Hamer, by claim -	-	250		
Archer's Hope.				
Mr. Richard Buck - - -	-	750		
Capt. Roger Smith 100, by order of court.				
Richard Kingsmill - - -	-	300		
Mr. Wm. Clayborne 250 acres, by order of court.				
Ensign Wm. Spence and J. Fow- ler - - -	-	300		
John Johnson, - - -	-	100		
R. Kingsmill 200, by order of court.				
William Fairfield - - -	-	200		
Joakim Andrews - - -	-	100		
John Grubb - - -	-	100		

APPENDIX.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>
		<i>planted.</i>	<i>patent.</i>
John Fetherson	-	-	250
George Perry	-	-	100
Richard Staples	-	-	150
Richard Brewst	-	-	100
Martin's Hundred, containing, as is alledged, 800,000 acres, part planted, near Mulberry Is- land.			
Nathaniel Hall	-	-	200
Capt. Wm. Pearce and Mr. Jos. Rolfe, with some others	-	-	1700
Warrasqueake plantation, con- taining downwards from Hog- Island, fourteen miles by the river's side, in which are these patents following, viz.			
John Carter	-	100	
Christopher Daniel		100	
Adam Dixson	-	100	
John Perry,	-	100	
Thomas Winter	-	100	
John Pittington	-	600	
Thomas Pool	-	100	
Anthony Barkham		100	
Capt. Nathaniel Bassie	-	-	300
Giles Jones	-	-	150
Blunt Point.			
Capt. Wm. Clayborne 500 acres by order of court.			
John Baynham	-	-	300
Capt. Hamer, 500 acres by order of court.			
Gilbert Peppett	-	-	50
Francis Gifford	-	-	50
Capt. Mathews, his dividend			50
Thomas Hothersall		200	

Acres. Acres Acres APPENDIX.
planted. patent.

Cornelius Mary	-	100
Richard Graven	-	150
Richard Tree	-	50
Richard Domilaw	-	150
Percival Ibbison	-	50
Edward Waters	-	100
Below Blunt Point.		
Captain Joseph Hurleson	-	100
Robert Hutchins	-	100
John Southern	-	40
Sir Francis Wyatt 500, by order of court.		
Morrice Thomson	-	150
John Salford,	-	100
Pharrow Flinton	-	150
Lieutenant Giles Allington	-	100
William Bentley,	-	50
Thomas Godby,	-	100
The corporation of Elizabeth- City.		
Newports News	-	1300
Glebe land	-	100
Mr. Keyth	-	100
John Taylor	-	50
John Powell,	-	150
Captain William Tucker,	150	
Richard Boulton	-	50
John Salford	-	50
Robert Salford	-	100
Miles Pricket	-	150
John Bush	-	300
William Inkham	-	150
Lieutenant Lupo	-	350
Elizabeth Lupo	-	50
Thomas Spilman	-	100

APPENDIX.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>
		<i>planted.</i>	<i>patent.</i>
Edward Hill	-	-	100
Alexander Mountney	-	-	50
William Cole	-	-	100
William Brooks	-	-	100
Glebe land	-	-	100
Elizabeth Dunthorn	-	-	50
William Grany	-	-	200
Wm. Capp's dividend planted.			
William Laudsell	-	-	100
Mr. Wm. Clayborne	150		
I. Gundy	150		
Mary Bauldin	100		
Thomas Bauldin	200		
Mr. Peter Arondel	200		
Bartholomew Haskins	100		
Capt. Baughly Croshaw	-		500
Pamunkey river.			
Thomas Willowby, 200 by or-			
der of court.			

ON the easterly line side of Northampton, there are 30,000 acres belonging to that company, at Elizabeth City, planted, and 1500 acres common land.

ON the south side of the main river, against Elizabeth City :

	<i>Acres.</i>
Thomas Willoughby	100
Thomas Chapman	100
Thomas Breewood	200
John Downin	100
Capt. William Tucker	650
John Sipsey	250
Lieut. Joseph Cheesman	200

EASTERN SHORE.

JOHN Flowces....Certain others have planted there, but no patents have been granted them.

The company's and the secretary's tenants were also seated there, but no land ordered to be laid out for them, as in the other four corporations. APPENDIX.

TOTAL.

Proprietors	-	-	-	224
Patent	-	-	-	5460
Planted	-	-	-	12,500
By order of court	-	-	-	1000
Acres	-	-	-	15,712

THE NAMES OF THE ADVENTURERS

For Virginia, as they were in the year 1620.

A. Sir William Aliffe, sir Roger Aston, sir Anthony Ashley, sir John Akland, sir Anthony Aucher, sir Robert Askwith, doctor Francis Anthony, Charles Anthony, Edward Allen, John Allen, Edmund Allen, esq. Richard Ashcroft, Nicholas Andrews, John Andrews, the elder, John Andrews, the younger, James Ascough, Giles Alington, Morris Abbot, Thomas Allen, Ambrose Asten, James Askew, William Atkinson, esq. Anthony Abdey, John Arundell, esq.

B. Edward, earl of Bedford, James, lord bishop of Bath and Wells, sir Francis Barrington, sir Morice Barkley, sir John Bennett, sir Thomas Beamont, sir Amias Bamfield, sir John Bouchier, sir Edmund Bowyer, sir Thomas Bluder, sir George Bolles, sir John Bingley, sir Thomas Button, sir Henry Beddingfield, company of Barbers Surgeons, company of Bakers, Richard Banister, John Bancks, Miles Bancks. Thomas Barber, William Bonham, James Bryerley, William Barners, Anthony Barners, esq. William Brewster,

APPENDIX. Richard Brooke, Hugh Brooker, esq. Ambrose Brewsey, John Brooke, Matt. Bromridge, Christopher Brooke, esq. Martin Bond, Gabriel Beadle, John Beadle, David Borne, Edward Barnes, John Badger, Edmund Bradvill, Robert Bowyer, esq. Robert Bateman, Thomas Britton, Nicholas Benson, Edward Bishop, Peter Burgoney, Thomas Burgoney, Robert Burgoney, Christopher Baron, Peter Benson, John Baker, John Bustoridge, Francis Burley, William Brown, Robert Barker, Samuel Burham, Edward Barkley, William Bennett, captain Edward Brewster, Thomas Brockett, John Bullock, George Bache, Thomas Bayly, William Barkley, George Butler, Timothy Bathurst, George Burton, Thomas Brett, captain John Brough, Thomas Baker, John Blunt, Thomas Bayly, Richard Blunt, Edward Blunt, Mineon Burrell, Richard Blackmore, William Beck, Benjamin Brand, John Busbridge, William Burrell, William Barrett, Francis Baldwin, Edward Barber, Humphrey Basse, Robert Bell, Matthew Bromrick, John Beaumont, George Barkley, Peter Bartle, Thomas Bretton, John Blount, Arthur Bromfield, esq. William Berblock, Charles Beck.

C. George, lord archbishop of Canterbury, William, lord Cranborn, now earl of Salisbury, William, lord Compton, now earl of Northampton, William, lord Cavendish, now earl of Devonshire, Richard, earl of Clanricard, sir William Cavendish, now lord Cavendish, Gray, lord Chandos, sir Henry Carey, sir George Calvert, sir Linnel Cranfield, sir Edward Cecil, sir Robert Cotton, sir Oliver Cromwell, sir Anthony Cope, sir Walter Cope, sir Edward Carr, sir Thomas Conisbre, sir George Cary, sir Edward Conwey, sir Walter Chute, sir Edward Culpeper, sir Henry Cary, captain, sir William Craven, sir Walter Covert, sir George Coppin, sir George Chute, sir

Thomas Coventry, sir John Cutts, lady Cary, company of Clothworkers, city of Chichester, Robert Chamberlain, Richard Chamberlain, Francis Covill, William Coyse, esq. Abraham Chamberlain, Thomas Carpenter, Anthony Crew, Richard Cox, William Crosley, James Chatfield, Richard Casewell, John Cornallis, Randall Carter, executors of Randall Carter, William Canning, Edward Carve, esq. Thomas Cannon, esq. Richard Champion, Rawley Crashaw, Henry Collins, Henry Cromwell, John Cooper, Richard Cooper, John Casson, Thomas Colthurst, Allen Cotton, Edward Cage, Abraham Cartwright, Robert Coppin, Thomas Conock, John Clapham, Thomas Church, William Carpenter, Lawrence Campe, James Campbell, Christopher Cletheroe, Matthew Cooper, George Chambers, captain John Cooke, captain Thomas Conway, esq. Mr. William Crashaw, Abraham Colmer, John Culpeper, Edmund Colbey, Richard Cooper, Robert Creswell, John Cage, esq. Matthew Cave, William Crowe, Abraham Carpenter, John Crowe, Thomas Cordell, Richard Connock, esq. William Compton, William Chester, Thomas Covell, Richard Carmarden, esq. William Canning, Paul Canning, Henry Cromwell, esq. Simon Codrington, Clement Chickley, James Cullemore, Wm. Cantrell, Edw. Culpeper.

D. Richard, earl of Dorset, Edward, lord Deny, sir John Digbie, now lord Digbie, sir John Doderidge, sir Drew Drewry, the elder, sir Thomas Dennis, sir Robert Drewry, sir John Davers, sir Dudley Digges, sir Marmaduke Dorrell, sir Thomas Dale, sir Thomas Denton, company of Drapers, Thomas Bond, esq. David Bent, esq. company of Dyers, town of Dover, mr. Richard Dean, alderman, Henry Dawkes, Edward Ditchfield, William Dunn, John Davis, Matthew Dequester, Philip Durdent, Abraham Dawes, John

APPENDIX. Dike, Thomas Draper, Lancelot Davis, Rowley Dawsey, William Dobson, esq. Anthony Dyot, esq. Avery Danfield, Roger Dye, John Downes, John Drake, John Delbridge, Benjamin Decroe, Thomas Dyke, Jeffery Duppa, Daniel Darnelly, Sarah Draper, Clement Dawkney, Henry Dawkney.

E. Thomas, earl of Exeter, sir Thomas Everfield, sir Francis Egiock, sir Robert Edolph, John Eldred, esquire, John Elkin, John Elkin, Hugh Evans, William Evans, Richard Evans, Ralph Ewens, esq. Robert Evelin, Nicholas Exton, John Exton, George Etheridge.

F. Sir Moyle Finch, sir Henry Fenshawe, sir Thomas Freake, sir Peter Fretchville, sir William Fleetwood, sir Henry Fane, company of Fishmongers, John Fletcher, John Farmer, Martin Freeman, esq. Ralph Freeman, William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, Michael Fetiplace, William Fetiplace, Thomas Forrest, Edward Fleetwood, esq. William Felgate, William Field, Nicholas Ferrar, John Ferrar, Giles Francis, Edward Fawcett, Richard Farrington, John Franklin, Richard Frith, John Ferne, George Farmer, Thomas Francis, John Fenner, Nicholas Fuller, esq. Thomas Foxall, William Fleet, Peter Frank, esq. Richard Fishborn, William Faldoe, John Fletcher and co. William Ferrar.

G. Lady Elizabeth Grey, sir John Grey, sir William Godolfine, sir Thomas Gages, sir William Gee, sir Richard Grobham, sir William Garaway, sir Francis Goodwin, sir George Goring, sir Thomas Grantham, company of Grocers, company of Goldsmiths, company of Girdlers, John Geering, John Gardiner, Richard Gardiner, John Gilbert, Thomas Grave, John Gray, Nicholas Griece, Thomas Goldard, Richard Gipps, Peter Gates, Laurence Green, Thomas Gibbs, esq. Wil-

Iiam Greenwell, Robert Garset, Robert Gore, Thomas Gouge, Francis Glanville, esq.

APPENDIX.

H. Henry, earl of Huntingdon, lord Theophilus Howard, lord Walden, sir John Harrington, lord Harrington, sir John Hollis, now lord Hantein, sir Thomas Holecraft, sir William Harris, sir Thomas Harefleet, sir George Haiward, sir Warwick Heal, sir Baptist Hicks, sir John Hanham, sir Thomas Horwell, sir Thomas Hewitt, sir William Herriek, sir Eustace Hart, sir Perry Huntley, sir Arthur Harris, sir Edward Heron, sir Perseval Hart, sir Ferdinando Heilborne, sir Laurence Hyde, mr. Hugh Hamersley, alderman, mr. Richard Heron, alderman, Richard Humble, esq. mr. Richard Hackluit, Edward Harrison, George Holman, Robert Hill, Griffin Hinton, John Hawkins, William Hancock, John Harper, Geo. Hawger, John Holt, John Huntley, Jeremy Hidden, Ralph Hamor, Ralph Hamor, jun. J. Hodgson, John Hanford, Thomas Harris, Richard Howell, Thomas Henshaw, Leonard Harwood, Tristram Hill, Francis Haselridge, Tobias Hinson, Peter Heightley, Geo. Hawkenson, Thos. Hackshawe, Charles Hawkens, John Hodgis, William Holland, Robert Hartley, Gregory Herst, Thos. Hodgis, William Hodgis, Roger Harris, John Harris, mr. John Haiward, Nicholas Hide, esq. John Hare, esq. Wm. Hackwell, esq. Gressam Hoogan, Humphrey Hanford, Wm. Haseldon, Nicholas Hooker, dr. Anthony Hunton, Jn. Hodsale, Geo. Hooker, Anthony Hinton, John Hogsell, Thomas Hampton, Wm. Hicks, Wm. Holliland, Ralph Harrison, Harman Harrison, James Haiward.

I. Sir Thos. Iermin, sir Robert Johnson, sir Arthur Ingram, sir Francis Jones, company of Ironmongers, company of Innholders, company of Imbriderers, bailiffs of Ipswich, Henry Jackson,

APPENDIX. Richard Ironside, mr. Robt. Johnson, alderman, Thomas Jones, Wm. Jobson, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Jadwin, John Joshua, Geo. Isam, Philip Jacobson, Peter Jacobson, Thomas Tuxton, sen. James Jewell, Gabriel Jaques, Walter Jobson, Edward James, Zachary James, esq. Anthony Irby, esq. Wm. Janson, Humphrey Jobson.

K. Sir Valentine Knighttley, sir Robt. Killegrew, sir Charles Kelké, sir John Kail, Richard Kerrill, Ralph King, Henry Kent, town of Kingslinne, John Kettleby, esq. Walter Kirkham, esq.

L. Henry, earl of Lincoln, Robert lord Lisle, now earl of Leicester, Thomas, lord Lawarr, sir Francis Leigh, sir Richard Lawlace, sir William Litton, sir John Lewson, sir William Lower, sir Samuel Leonard, sir Sampson Leonard, company of Leather-sellers, Thomas Laughton, William Lewson, Peter Latham, Peter Van Lore, Henry Leigh, Thomas Levar, Christopher Landman, Morris Lewellin, Edward Lewis, Edward Lewkin, Peter Lodge, Thomas Layer, Thomas Lawson, Francis Lodge, John Langley, David Loyd, John Levits, Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge, capt. Richard Linley, Arnold Lulls, William Lawrence, John Landman, Nicholas Litchfield, Nicholas Leate, Gideon de Lawne.

M. Philip, earl of Montgomery, Dr. George Mountain, now lord bishop of Lincoln, William, lord Mounteagle, now lord Morley, sir Thomas Mansell, sir Thos. Mildmay, sir Wm. Maynard, sir Humphrey May, sir Peter Manhood, sir John Merrick, sir George More, sir Robert Mansell, sir Arthur Mannering, sir David Murrey, sir Edward Michelborne, sir Thos. Middleton, sir Cavaliere Maicott, Dr. James Meddus, Richd. Martin, esq. company of Mercers, company of Merchant-taylors, Otho Mowdite, capt. John Martin, Arthur More, Adrian Mouse, Thos. Mountford,

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O. William Oxenbridge, esq. Robert Offly, Francis Oliver.

P. Wm. earl of Pembroke, Wm. lord Padgett, John lord Petre, Geo. Piercy, esq. sir Christopher Parkins, sir Amias Preston, sir Nicholas Parker, sir Wm. Poole, sir Stephen Powell, sir Henry Peyton, sir James Perrot, sir John Pettus, sir Robert Payne, Wm. Payne, John Payne, Edward Parkins, Edward Parkins' widow, Aden Perkins, Thos. Perkin, Richd. Partridge, Wm. Palmer, Miles Palmer, Robt. Parkhurst, Richd. Percival, esq. Richd. Poyntell, Geo. Pretty, Geo. Pitt, Allen Piercie, Abraham Pierce, Edm. Pierce, Phenice Pet, Thos. Philips, Henry Philpott, mr. Geo. Proctor, Robert Pennington, Peter Peate, John Prat, Wm. Powell, Edm. Peashall, captain Wm. Proude, Henry Price, Nicholas Pewriffe, Thos. Pelham, Richard Piggott, John Pawlet, esq. Robert Pory, Richard Paulson.

Q. William Quick.

R. Sir Robert Rich, now earl of Warwick, sir Thos. Roe, sir Henry Rainsford, sir Wm. Rom-

W w

APPENDIX. ney, sir John Ratcliffe, sir Stephen Riddlesdon, sir Wm. Russell, mr. Edward Rotheram, alderman, Robert Rich, Tedder Roberts, Henry Robinson, John Russell, Richd. Rogers, Arthur Robinson, Robt. Robinson, Milicent Ramsden, John Robinson, Geo. Robins, Nicholas Rainton, Henry Rolfe, John Reignolds, Elias Roberts, Henry Reignolds, Wm. Roscarrocke, esq. Humphrey Raynare, Richard Robins.

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APPENDIX.ERRATA.

Errors merely typographical are omitted.

For 'rely,' in note to page 11, read *lyre*.

For 'distinct,' in page 204, read *discreet*.

In appendix, page 300, instead of 'monthly or inferior courts,' read *inferior*.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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T. B. H. Mason.

